

CHRISTMAS + NUMBER

PEACE NEWS

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE FROM

Father Trevor Huddleston

who this month leaves the Community of the Resurrection's Mission in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, to return to Britain

THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTMAS does not change. "Peace on earth to men of goodwill" is the hope and aspiration which it means for all of us year by year. Nevertheless, it is also a challenge especially to Christian people and one which we must be prepared to answer.

How much are *we* doing to promote that peace and how much are *we* prepared to do in the coming years to create an atmosphere of goodwill in the world?

One of the major issues confronting the world today is that of race. Not alone in South Africa or on the African continent but everywhere there is need for a reassessment of our attitude, a need to remember that the Christian has no choice. He is *commanded* to love his neighbour as himself. Bethlehem is a stark reminder of the fact that when the Son of God entered this world "His own received Him not."

Let us then rededicate ourselves at the Manger to the cause of racial peace and understanding.



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Front page designed and drawn by Mays

American viewpoint . . . and for your country too? OUR LOVES AND OUR HATES

By George D. Brewer, of San Pedro, California

In the buffer zone, following the Korean armistice, a North Korean youth hugged an American G. I. and in broken English sobbed: "Once we friends again and shoot no more."

Once we in America, loved North Koreans and Chinese, even as we loved South Koreans. We classified them as backward, inoffensive and kindly people.

For several years now we've been hating North Koreans and Chinese. For some reason these particular Orientals suddenly became an offensive, brutal people—entirely different from South Koreans, and whom we killed by the thousands.

Today, temporarily, we are wavering in our attitude toward them. They may assume the characteristics of human beings again. Tomorrow, however, they may go back to savagery, in which event we will have to hate them again; or the situation may be reversed, in which event we'll love them.

Which it is to be, love or hate, will depend upon the outcome of impending treaty negotiations. Who can tell? Who is to decide whether we shall hate or love them?

Of one thing we can be certain: whether we are to love or hate either South Koreans, North Koreans or Chinese, will be decided FOR us—not BY us.

Long before the American Revolution, we, in America, loved England, our mother country, and the English people. They were our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, blood of our blood and bone of our bone.

Then came the American Revolution. Over night, as it were, a lily white England became an ebony black England. Our English forebears became brutal barbarians; we killed them by the thousands and they killed us by the thousands.

Following seven long bloody years of hating and merciless killing, peace was restored. We had vanquished England and again we loved her and her people.

Our love for England endured until the war of 1812 (cause controversial) when we were again called upon to hate her and her people. With the termination of the war, we again loved England. Once more they had been transferred from bad to good. We kissed and made up. Nor have we killed each other since. But for how long?

But, our loves and hates for England and all things English have been, and will continue to be, decided FOR us—not BY us.

For a long time before the First World War we loved Germany and her people.

They were good people, thrifty, industrious, cultured and law abiding.

Then came the war, and one might say by chance, we sided in with the Allies and against Germany. Therefore, we had to hate her and her people. They became brutal barbarians. They committed inhuman atrocities, "cut off the hands of little children"—and otherwise violated every humanitarian quality.

With the ending of the war, we again loved Germany and her people. They returned to sanity and became peace loving, honest-to-God human beings again.

Strange how quickly (could it have been for economic reasons?) we were influenced to love Germany and hate her no more. Immediately we began aiding Germany in rebuilding her industries and armaments, hoping, it is said, that she would become powerful enough to wage a successful war against the despised Russians, whom we were beginning to hate.

Then came the Second World War and well laid plans went awry. We again found ourselves arrayed against Germany and, consequently, had to again hate her and her people. They had reverted to type, we said, and were again brutal barbarians.

At the termination of the war, we again loved Germany and her people, particularly those in Western Germany. And we are now aiding in rebuilding her destroyed industrial life and military machine.

And here again, our loves and hates for Germany and everything German was, and is, decided FOR us—not BY us.

Before the Second World War we had always loved Italy and the Italian people. In the First World War, we loved her and her people, even more than usual. They were a great people, deserving our love. They happened to be in the war with us.

But came the Second World War and how quickly our love turned to hate when Italy got on the opposing side.

We won the war, and now again we are loving Italy and her people. She is now a great country and a great people. She is deserving of our love and assistance, even to turning over to her the controversial territory of Trieste which could be the spark for a war with Yugoslavia. Thus loves and hates would again be established!

But, whether or not we are to love or hate either Italy or Yugoslavia will be decided FOR us—not BY us.

For 100 years we loved Spain and the romantic Spanish people; they were a deserving people, courageous, brave, pioneering people. Then in 1898, came the Spanish American War (Cuban sugar said to have been a factor) and we hated Spain and the Spanish people. They were inhuman monsters who should be exterminated.

We won the war and overnight we again loved Spain and her people; they were a deserving people and rated our love and confidence.

During the two World Wars Spain remained serenely on the fence. We did not know whether we were going to have to love her or hate her. Our loves and our hates would be determined by which way she happened to jump. She didn't jump, hence, we didn't jump either to love or hate.

Now we are very definitely loving Spain and contributing to the reinforcement of her armaments and general welfare. The Fascist Dictator, Gen. Francisco Franco, has evidently sold America a very cheap and shoddy bill of goods.

But whether we are to love or hate Spain, now or in the future will be decided FOR us—not BY us.

Before our Civil War was declared, Americans loved Americans. We were all fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, etc., and we loved each other.

Then came the war between the states and our loves and our hates were determined by the side of the Mason-Dixie line we happened to live on. But we had to hate, and God, how we did hate! hate! hate! Both North and South were transformed into marauding vandals, inhuman barbarians.

After the blood letting of more than 200,000 victims of hate over a period of four years we relaxed. Peace was declared. Now again we love each other. North and South are merged into one great nation and we are all the best people on earth—particularly if we are willing to snitch on each other if one seems to be a little too radical to please the now high riding conservatives.

But even among ourselves in the struggle between the North and South our loves and our hates were decided FOR us—not BY us.

In all past history the people in no country have ever decided their national loves or hates for themselves. Such impulses have always been decided FOR them—not BY them. The people of no country have mass murder instincts. Voluntarily, they seldom kill each other. Never would they kill without being lied to or otherwise influenced to kill.

What a fickle jade we, as a nation, with our hates and loves being DECIDED FOR us—NEVER BY us.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m., Sunday, December 18

King's Weigh House Church,

Binney Street, W. I. (near Bond Street Station)

Discourse by REV. W. J. PIGGOTT, M.A.

"Animals and Angels"

"Peace on earth"—Is there anything men want more desperately?

CHRISTMAS CONFERENCE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Wheatthill Bruderhof Community Dec. 30—Jan. 1

How shall we respond to the challenge of the event of Christmas?

If you are interested in taking part in this Conference, please write for further details to: Youth of the Wheatthill Bruderhof,

Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

VINOBA BHAVE

India's great Hindu leader says of Christmas— It is a sacred day for us all

DECEMBER 25 is a sacred day for us all. The Son of Man, as Jesus loved to call himself, was born today. He belonged to all mankind, for he was above all barriers of race, colour and creed. He represented the human race and strove to raise its stature. He paid with his life in his attempt to redeem it.

Most of you may not know, but not long after Christ's crucifixion a Christian mission came to Malabar in South India. The word "Communism" has been derived from "communes" which once were tiny settlements of early Christian Communities who lived as one joint family and shared all their earthly possessions in common.

Ever since its arrival here Christianity has flourished. Unfortunately during the past few centuries Christian missions in India linked themselves with Portuguese, British and other imperialist adventurers and suffered in prestige and stature.



Jesus strove to establish upon earth the Kingdom of Heaven. He fought to conquer hatred by love. If we return love with love what virtue is there in it? That is the way even with the animals. Besides, if I must return like for like, I yield the initiative. I surrender my choice in the ordering of my conduct. It is then for the other fellow to determine it. Where is the wisdom, one may ask, in leaving our own course of action at the mercy of others?

Jesus called upon us to love our neighbour. But though this has been extolled as a great virtue by all nations, few have been found prepared in practice to accept it as their immediate obligation.

Today science has taken great strides and man is coming upon means and instruments of remarkable potency which are promising him the millennium—or, total destruction in the alternative. Human destiny seems to lie prostrate at the feet of science, trembling at man's discoveries, only because he has failed to raise himself to a conscious and willing acceptance of Christ and his message.

We talk of love and non-violence and One World, but devote the bulk of our resources to piling up armaments for mutual destruction. We despair of our neighbour. This is cowardice. Jesus refused to give way to it. He bore the Cross, the burden of our sins and embraced martyrdom.

Luckily, this teaching of Jesus is not alien to India. We have been the meeting ground of a multitude of races, creeds and cultures; a land of synthesis and fusions. Our Gurdev Tagore sang of this land as a great ocean of fusion and unity of tribes and races, out of which was to emerge a model refined and worthy to receive the world's homage. There has been in the life of our people an underlying unity which transcends nationalism and all other bars and barriers between man and man.

I therefore unreservedly declare that Jesus Christ is our own, that to us in this country Jesus and his teachings have never sounded strange or impractical; that we regard Jesus as one of our family.

"And verily, in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least, of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," so said Jesus. He thus is nothing less than our own kith and kin. And I claim in all humility that no country in the world except India has made on so vast a scale a collective effort to follow his teachings as did India under Mahatma Gandhi.

I confess a good deal of our practice falls far short of our ideal. I am deeply aware of the failings in our behaviour. God knows the remorse we feel for our many sins. I only wish to submit that the teachings of Jesus are familiar food to every Hindu who is taught from early childhood not to kill, and to look upon the least of God's creatures as one's self; and that we have accepted Christ long ago.

It is for our Christian brethren, now that their foreign trappings are shed, to subscribe to the indigenous background suited to our own genius. And I also suggest that similar processes of wholesome assimilation may also take place among the followers of Islam and other religions; that Christians and Muslims of India who have hitherto held fast to their moorings and their traditions outside India, may no longer remain strangers to the Hindu cultural background, but assimilate the Indian Brahma Vidya with profit.

It would broaden their outlook and confer a wholesome spirit of quest and tolerance to their religious and ideological approach and add lustre to their culture. Such a consummation, I submit, will render easier what each

one of us wants to propagate, and would make a worthy contribution to the growth of our common culture.

Let us realise that we have come of age now. We no longer belong to the past dawns; we belong to the noons of the future.

Every one agrees that a unique spirit of brotherhood and comradeship pervades the teaching of Islam, and that Islam means PEACE. This is why the moon is its symbol. A man who has no passion for peace and has no compassion in him is not a Muslim. On the other hand he who has peace and compassion in him whether he carries such a label or not, I should call him and regard him a true Muslim.

Similarly, love and service are the two characteristic features of the Christian way of life. Now I do yearn to live up to these ideals in everyday life. So I am willing to sit at the feet of their prophets and their holy men and learn. And I should love to regard myself, or call myself, part Christian and Muslim and look upon it as my good luck to be so, and endeavour to be worthy of all that this means.

This I can do, I claim, without the least harm to my Hinduism, I rather feel my Hinduism will bloom and blossom forth and add to its lustre and gain in stature for my doing so. Even so, Christianity and Islam, reinforced in the manner I have just explained, will assume a special significance in preaching universal love and brotherhood and service of all God's creatures.

Throughout her history of five thousand years, India has never attacked another country. Non-Violence has been her badge and her sheet-anchor. It is in her blood and her marrow. Thus there is nothing novel if we accept Jesus as our own kith and kin and refuse to regard him as an outside influence.

I am glad the Christian churches of Malabar have declared Bhoodan Yagna (the Land-gift Movement) as on the lines of Jesus Christ and have commended it for all to follow. I submit that Bhoodan will carry to every home Christ's message of loving one's neighbour, disregarding his denominational label.

Every reader will need

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Report from the West Indies *

They watch Cyprus

By Olwen Battersby

"IT is morally indefensible and politically impossible" said Dr. Eric Williams, referring to clauses in the 1953 revised version of the 1948 draft constitution for Caribbean Federation.

Dr. Eric Williams was formerly Deputy Chairman of the Caribbean Research Council comprising the Governments of the United Kingdom, the USA, France and the Netherlands. He is also Editor of the "Caribbean Historical Review" and "Documents on British West Indian History."

He was addressing a meeting in the House of Commons organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom. Miss Jennie Lee, Chairman of the Caribbean Committee of the Movement was in the Chair.

Federation was essential for the West Indies, he agreed. This had been realised as long ago as 1876.

But as the constitution now stood the Governor General had power to appoint Senators unacceptable to the West Indian people; and to give such Senators a place on the Executive Council.

"If that is not colonialism, what is?" he asked.

As the Constitution now stood, plans for economic productivity or the welfare state must be measures acceptable to the British Treasury. Would the Colombo Powers, or the European nations who accepted American aid after the last war have accepted also political subservience? Why then should the West Indies?

Compromise

In view of the urgency he would himself be willing to accept a "compromise period," and for five years allow to the British Government a casting vote on matters of defence and international relations. "But for five years only," he added. "The West Indian peoples are not indifferent to the fate of Cyprus."

"But the reserve powers of the Governor General, and the clauses empowering the British Government to pass legislation overriding that of the Federation in regard to their own economic development: these we shall fight to the ultimate limit" he stated.

"You cannot approach federation in 1955 as you would have approached it in 1948," he summed up. "Substantial constitutional progress has been made in the Islands in the last eight years. The world scene has changed: there has been the emergence of Asia, the rise of nationalism in Africa, and above all, the Bandung Conference. In 1948 this Constitution might have seemed a step forward; today it would be putting back the clock."

The earliest plan for Federation had been concerned solely with lunatics, lepers, prisoners and policemen, he continued. This apparently was what interested the imperialists of 1876.

Today the influx of West Indians to this country had opened the eyes of the British people. The new constitution, which it was hoped would be inaugurated in 1958, must incorporate heroic measures for the development of the whole area.

"For there are many more lined up, and waiting to come to Britain" he concluded.

*See also "Behind the News"—page four

BASUTOLAND

Our responsibility and what we should do to honour it

By Commander T. Fox Pitt

BRITAIN holds the responsibility for the protection of three African countries within the borders of the Union of South Africa or wedged into its sides. They are Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

The Government of South Africa claims them as her own by a persistent misreading of the laws that established the Union.

In 1954 Sir Winston Churchill as Prime Minister, spoke with some directness of the impossibility of transferring these Protectorates while South Africa followed her present anti-African racial policy.

This declaration has not satisfied the people of South Africa, for no British statesman or Party has categorically declared that the people of the Protectorates shall have the final word in deciding their own future.

The country that is in most danger is Basutoland because it lies entirely within the borders of the Union and is more subject than the others to the threats of economic boycott that South African politicians have made against the Protectorates if they are not handed over.

Basutoland is also weak because her 560,000 people depend on employment in South African towns to supplement the bare living to be made by some of them from their poor and eroded soils. Basutoland has no known minerals, except a few diamonds, and the only development that can help her people is in agriculture.

A LESSON LEARNT FROM KENYA

Overcrowding has spoilt a lot of the land and Africans do not respond readily to the pressure brought by the white administrators to work on anti-erosion schemes. They fear that when they have improved the lands and made them fit for intensive farming, they will be turned off them and they will be taken by the Europeans.

It has happened with the lands worked by the farm squatters in Kenya and they do not see why it should not happen again to their lands. Under the government of Strydom one must expect the worst.

Because of their insecurity and because they see other African peoples advancing to self-government, the Basuto people press for law-making powers for their National Council. They think that it will be difficult for Britain to proceed with the idea of handing them over to the Union without their consent once they have a Council with legislative responsibility.

The British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations recently sent out a Commission to enquire whether more powers should be given.

THEIR OWN LAWS

They recommended that the National Council should have power to decide what equipment should be carried on a bicycle, to formulate rules about firearms and liquor, and make regulations for all vehicles other than those that are mechanically propelled. They recommended other powers that had always been the traditional prerogatives of the Chiefs.

These are not powers acceptable in any way as those of a National Government and the Basuto have repudiated them, particularly as there went with these recommendations further restrictions in the rights of the Chiefs in domestic affairs.

These recommendations were designed never to interfere in any way with the lives of the 1,600 white men who live in Basutoland or the tourists who are expected to motor up the new road into the mountains of the interior where a new administrative post is being built for their special protection.

In a new White Paper (Cmd. 9580) the Commonwealth Relations Office has stated the policy of expanding the economy of the country so that it may later bear the expense of increased educational and social services.

This would be sensible enough if the people were not so deeply suspicious of the Government's motives.

The suspicions of the uneducated are more bitter and their fears more intense, their reaction to both more likely to be violent and

immoderate, than those of men who have been educated.

Colonial administrations are only now beginning to realise that the uneducated are more dangerous to peace and good government than those who have gained a wider view point.

SETTING THE PACE

Education should have been wide and progressive for many years past, but it has not been; higher education should have been producing men who could understand the safeguards and limitations of international law, but such men are few and their voices are not heard in the councils that are dominated by the white administrators.

Britain's chance of influencing the course of events in South Africa lies in her power to develop the High Commission Protectorates until they set a standard from which the South African government will not dare to depart.

Leaders, teachers, technicians and Trade Unionists can be trained and encouraged in the Protectorates so that they can set the pace for political and economic reform in the hard core of the Union.

ASIA'S FIRST PENICILLIN FACTORY



Asia's first penicillin factory, at Pimpri near Poona, India, is now well on the way to reaching its present production target of 1,000 pounds a month. Production began last March. Plant was set up with aid of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, World Health Organization, and UN Children's Fund. Also with their aid, 13 Indians so far have been trained abroad in penicillin production. Seen here is a locally-trained technician making biological test in laboratory of potency of the penicillin produced.

UNATIONS

This cannot wait for the long process of development from capital assets built up within the territories themselves.

The first need is education, financed, not with the miserable little loans and grants shown in the Appendix of the White Paper, but with a generous return of some of the wealth created by Basuto workers which has flowed into the pockets of British shareholders in the last hundred years of gold and diamond mining.

EDUCATE, AND THE REST FOLLOWS

The first need is education as the foundation of a rapid and revolutionary change in the status of Africans in Southern Africa.

Education is the first step and the rest will follow when security is won by the acceptance of Africans as citizens of equal rights, as they have shown themselves to be, of equal trained ability.

If Britain shows her interest by investing money in education in Basutoland, the people will be reassured that they are not to be abandoned to the mercies of the Bantu Education Act which has set up the pattern for educating Africans for servitude in the Union of South Africa.

THE EFFECT OF THE CALL-UP ON STUDENTS

The writer is a sixth-former at Cranleigh School (Surrey). He takes an Open Scholarship to Cambridge next December.

THE call-up has long been recognised as the greatest stumbling-block in the way of careers of students of today, especially those who wish to go to University.

In most cases colleges will not accept people before they have done their National Service, and this means a break of at least two years between leaving school and going up to University. During this time the greatest possible harm is done to the student's mind, and much of the good work done at school is undone.

If he is studying a subject in the Arts group, the purpose of which is mainly to train the mind, he will find military training the very negation of this, for where rigid discipline and mechanical obedience are demanded, he is trained not to think. On the other hand, if he takes Mathematics or Science, the lack of practice of these subjects during National Service will cause him to forget a large amount of what he had learned before.

In both cases, when he eventually goes up to University, he will have to spend a long time in unnecessary revision.

It is a scandal that most of the time of National Servicemen should be taken up in foolish and wasteful tasks when it could be so much more usefully employed in working for their degree.

There is also the consideration, and an important one in these days of high taxation, that National Service imposes a much greater strain on parents, who have to support their sons for a further two years before they can start really earning money.

For instance, if a student wishes to go in for Law, he will be 25 before he can stand on his own feet. It is not fair to parents that they should have to bear this additional burden at a time when they are trying to build up savings for their retirement.

If colleges will take students before they are called-up, this removes the gap between school and University, but places one at the other end of university training, when young men ought to be just stepping out into life. Nor does it relieve the parents' burden.

The two years' break which National Service imposes, is, in short, the biggest bugbear of the youth of Britain today. It takes young men from their homes and normal lives, and places them in a totally new environment almost completely cut off from the outside world, at a period of vital development in their lives. It holds up their careers in mid-air, and removes them from life at the very time when they ought to be making progress in it.

A moral dynamic

From JIM JOHNSON
President, Nottingham University Pacifist Society

TOM WARDLE, a former member of the Peace News staff, outlined the principles of Passive Resistance when he gave a talk to a joint meeting of the Pacifist and African Societies of Nottingham University on December 1.

The method had been practised mainly by so-called "backward" peoples, especially in nationalist struggles for independence. Such struggles had made a positive contribution to world civilisation, by giving it a desperately-needed moral dynamic.

The West had failed to give the world such a dynamic, so it was to be hoped that the nations of Asia and Africa would be alert to the moral issues involved in liberation, and give the world this new impetus.

A discussion followed, in which several Colonial students, chiefly from the Gold Coast, gave information on their homelands, and filled in with some detail the general thesis of Tom Wardle's address.

The recent changes in the call-up, instead of the expected cuts, have aggravated rather than eased the situation. Unless early call-up be granted, they mean a further year still of needless idleness and wastage. And the Prime Minister confidently predicts "a substantial reduction in the size of the armed forces" by 1957, while it is plain for anyone to see that the same number of young men serving for the same time must produce the same-sized army. The only difference is that they will be a year older.

The Government admits that the armed forces are needlessly large and that defence costs the nation more than it can afford. It is well known that two years are a far longer time

Report from Russia

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

SPEAKING at the Pacifist Society of University College, London, recently, the Rev. Clifford Macquire said that he could find no evidence of the recognition of conscientious objectors in Russia.

Russian Churches are full, but their impact upon the life of the community, as in the USA, is almost negligible.

He said, "There has been a complete acceptance of the material advance of the Soviet Union, and of the ways this advance was made. Russians consider it was necessary to be ruthless to achieve advances, and that what has been done in 38 years would have taken a Christian society, such as Britain, over a hundred years."

A third work camp for Danish conscripts who refuse military service has now been brought into use at Koppedal in Jutland. The CO's there have already started a monthly bulletin which is to include articles of general interest as well as camp notices.

By R. S. G. Sale

than is needed to train young men as soldiers, and that they spend most of their time in wasteful and soul-destroying tasks: surely then it is time for the abolition of, or substantial cuts in the Call-up, and an easing of the worries of taxpayer and student alike?

The day war broke out

By a 17-year-old scholar at Leighton Park School, Reading

The Day War broke out;
And every patriotic man seethed
And crowded out the
Registration Offices.

And I alone a Pacifist,
Grandfather told me how,
In World War One,
The Pacifists were set upon
And beaten up by angry
Patriotic crowds.
And still I am a Pacifist.

Fear,
Overcome by love alone.
Dread,
Of pain and mutilation
Even Death.
But still I am a Pacifist.

For soldiers face more cruel sights,
More pain, more agony, more death
Than any angry mob inflicts
On Pacifistic cowards.
Tis not such fearsome sights to miss
That I remain a Pacifist.

War is evil.
Hitler may be worse,
But why should we use evil means
To save us from a Nazi curse?
O Selfish Man,
Can we be just in His Great Eyes
And sin?
So I remain a Pacifist.

M. EDMUNDS.

PEACE NEWS

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PEACE ON EARTH

NEVER HAS THE WORLD stood in more need of understanding the Christmas message.



Although the policy of negotiation from strength has been abandoned, peace by deterrence has been adopted in its place. That means peace at the price of adding to the fears which have caused and intensified the cold war. But fear robs the mind of its power to reason, paralyses the will and prevents reconciliation.

Not for nothing was the first Christmas heralded with the words "Fear not" as the prelude to the promise of peace—peace through goodwill. What fear inevitably destroys, goodwill can create, and peace is ours for the asking if, understanding its essential character, we base our policies on goodwill and not on fear.

Goodwill is not a Christmas sentiment limited to sending cards, giving presents and making merry with our friends. It is a new and determined attitude to all men, be they regarded as friend or foe, and the practical expression of love and trust.

God does not wait for us to prove ourselves trustworthy before He trusts Himself to us as a helpless baby.

"God commended His love to us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." He puts His life into man's hands, and though He seems to be as helpless on Calvary as He was at Bethlehem, the real defeat comes to the politics of power and fear, and the cradle of all man's hopes of peace remains in Bethlehem.

It is by no breath, Turn of eye, wave of hand that salvation joins issue with death! As Thy Love is discovered almighty, almighty be proved Thy power, that exists with and for it, of being Beloved! He who did most, shall bear most. The strongest shall stand the most weak.

'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for! My flesh that I seek In the Godhead! I seek and I find it... See the Christ stand!

There is no virtue in trusting those upon whose word we know we can rely. It is when we trust those about whom we are uncertain that it is possible to evoke trust and call out the best in return.

The H-bomb is a challenge to our conscience, for who would think of bringing it as a Christmas gift to Bethlehem, but it is also a challenge to us to exercise trust. With the coming of nuclear and chemical weapons no system of inspection and control is possible. If the world cannot be rid of weapons of destruction by agreement dictated by fear, the alternative is the method of example inspired by goodwill.

We, too, must put ourselves defenceless into the hands of those whose minds and hearts we desire to change. So only can we disarm their fears of us and find the way to lose our own fears by trusting in what is more permanent and worthwhile than material power.

Although except to the few there was nothing spectacular about the first Christmas and for us its celebration has become traditional, Bethlehem saw the birth of a revolutionary movement. Peace was the keyword because it involves the readiness to accept change and establish right relations between man and God, man and his fellow-man.

War begins in the hearts and minds of men, and renunciation of war and violence is essential if each individual is to be one whole person at peace with himself and at one with God and his fellows. Nor can the world be one and know the reality of peace until the essential changes are made in the policies of fear and the attempt to get rid of it by material means.

There were summit talks before Christmas Day, when representatives of nations seeking Christ at the seat of power discovered that if there was no place for Him in the inn crowded with those who were complying with Caesar's decree, there was death for Him in the palace of Herod. But having seen Him, they had to return by a different way.

The statesmen of the world must take a new road if their desire for peace is serious. They must renounce the politics of power which spell death, reliance on might and the enthronement of fear, and let trust and goodwill work the miracle in the enthronement of love.

To be deaf to the message of the angels, to think we know more about peace than He does who is its author and giver, is to cut ourselves off from the reality of Christmas and put ourselves in the company of those who may well say "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

The other way is to follow the path of Him who came to give light to them that sit in darkness and under the shadow of death and to guide their feet into the way of peace.

The new neutralism

AT the time of the Bandung Conference of Asian-African nations in April it was understood that these nations would hold another conference early in 1956.

Authoritative sources have now indicated that the Indian and other governments which sponsored Bandung have no intention of calling such a conference in the near future.

This may be related to the highly critical situation which exists in Egypt at the moment, since Cairo was by general agreement to have been the meeting place.

The postponement is in greater measure due—since another location than Cairo might have been chosen if the problem affected only one nation—to the generally fluid state of international relations in the post-Geneva (November) world. Statesmen are reluctant to go to a conference on which the eyes of the whole world will be centered and where they cannot avoid making public statements, until they have a more definite idea as to where things stand and whether they are tending.

Bandung, as we pointed out in this column and elsewhere, was essentially a gathering of the nations seeking to remain uncommitted and unaligned in the East-West conflict.

The importance of these nations and the stand they took of rejecting colonialism of all

kinds and big power militarism, whether Russian or American, had a significant part in bringing about the "Summit" conference in July. The big powers had to reckon with the fact that they could not depend on the "nations between," or even on their own allies, to give "loyal" support in a nuclear war.

Most important issue

The question whether a Third Camp, based on another kind of power than military and seeking a saner way of organising human society than either contemporary Communism or Capitalism, can be developed still remains in my view the most important political issue of our time. Whether or not "non-violence" can in the present juncture be a live political option, and not simply a personal moral posture and witness depends on the emergence of such a Third Way approach. This is accordingly an opportune moment to comment on what the exciting events of recent weeks mean in this context!

I think advocates of the Third Way must frankly face the fact that the situation is not one for unbounded optimism. The political leaders in unaligned countries are at variance among themselves as to their attitude toward Russia and China and none of them have in

A good life for whom?

"NOW this is my choice for a good life." This is the title of an article by Merrick Winn in the Daily Express (December 7). His choice is life in the Rhodesias and his reasons are illuminating.

There is no room for unskilled people from this country, he says—"Like it or not, the African is labourer and servant." What are these servants paid? Well, the writer estimates that for forty shillings a week you can have a cook, a house-boy and a gardener.

Two pounds a week for three men doesn't seem a lot, does it? But there is a snag even here: you must spend "at least another five shillings a week each on food."

That means £143 per annum for the food and wages of three Africans, just three pounds more than a new radiogram would cost you in the Rhodesias.

The cost of luxury goods, so we are told, is one of the disadvantages of life out there. It is a good thing Africans don't need radiograms, as one of them costs more than the total wages of four men for a whole year. (By going without any food, of course, three Africans could buy one in the same time.)

"You must have a car"

ALL the same, it's a good life, says Merrick Winn. Of course, "You must have a car." Well, few people object, if they can afford one, and the ordinary male clerk can rise to £1,100 a year. As to Income Tax, it's "a Briton's dream": no tax on the first £800 for a married man and a mere £100 on an income of £2,000 if he has two children.

No wonder the writer assures us that this is a place "where ordinary people can live like lords." The only difficulty is that these "ordinary people" are all whites, and you can't have some people living like lords unless others live like serfs.

A packet of trouble

THIS Daily Express paradise seems to have been ideally contrived to make sure of a packet of trouble.

There was a time when you could get away with that sort of robbery for generations. Today you can't.

If there is going to be peace in Africa, and not the bloodiest of bloody revolutions, it is about time Europeans stopped assessing the "Good Life" in terms of privilege and began thinking of a good life for everybody.

Basic human needs are much the same for us all—and colour has absolutely nothing to do with those needs.

Africans are hungry for land and freedom in their own country, hungry for the food they grow, hungry for education, in need of better health services and social services.

And unless these needs are satisfied the Good Timers who go out in search of cheap labour, high wages and low Income Tax may find that their paradise has turned quite suddenly into a purgatory.

The French elections

THE result of M. Faure's snap dissolution of the French Government seems to be working out differently from what was originally expected.

The dissolution, a piece of constitutional sharp practice, was aimed at securing an election on the basis of the present electoral arrangements and not under revised arrangements that were under consideration.

As things stand the election arrangements provide for parties to enter into relations of alliance to fight on common lists. This involved the splitting of M. Faure's own Radical Party and aligning his wing with a number of groups on the "Right," among which the MRP unfortunately has now to be reckoned.

The great danger that attended this manoeuvre was that it might produce on the "Left" the response of an alliance with the Communists in order to counter the advantage of the alliance on the Right; and the dangers that attend alliance with Communists have been made all too evident in the countries of Eastern Europe.

The French Communist Party was quick to extend an invitation to the

BEHIND THE NEWS

Socialists to enter into an electoral alliance; the Socialists, however, have decided otherwise. They will ally themselves with the section of the Radical Party that is led by M. Mendes-France; and this alliance will be joined by a group round M. Mitterand, whose conceptions of policy in colonial affairs lead in the same direction as those of M. Mendes-France, and a few Gaullists.

From a party standpoint it is not a massive combination. The votes are cast by the electors, however, and it is not inconceivable that with the decisiveness with which the Socialists have acted, and with M. Mendes-France in the leadership, the hope inspired during his previous period of government may produce results that could not have been contemplated before the dissolution.

Exposure in Algeria

THE agreed evasion of the UN decision on Algeria and the subsequent return of the French representatives is to be followed by a French proposal, to be supported by Britain, which will eliminate the possibility of further discussions on French North Africa, will also avoid any danger of Cyprus coming up for discussion and will probably leave South Africa free to follow its policy of racial oppression uncriticised by the Assembly.

The French proposition is that "colonial" items shall only be placed on the agenda when there is a two-thirds majority in favour.

It is ironical that this should be happening just when events have exploded the French contention that Algeria forms part of metropolitan France. In the forthcoming elections to the French Parliament Algeria is to be excluded. The Algerian Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, has asked that this shall be so.

Intimidation

ALGERIAN elections to the French Assembly are normally completely farcical. There is intimidation, gerrymandering and falsification: every measure to see that the deputies elected are acceptable to the French settlers. Different methods are adopted, but the result is the same as that which obtains in Russia and the other countries of single-party government.

This time it has become evident that the great mass of the population, who vote separately from the French settlers and a privileged minority of Muslims, will boycott the elections. There will probably be an absence of candidates and certainly an absence of voters.

If Mendes-France comes back

AFTER what has happened at UN this would clearly make the French claim ridiculous. The elections are therefore to be suspended so far as Algeria is concerned.

After the election the new French Government is to be asked to endorse a proposal to continue the Algerian "representation" in the Assembly by the prolongation of the terms of the deputies who hold seats in the present Parliament.

That is, of course, the idea of the present Government of M. Faure. Should there be a substantial change in the new Parliament—should, for instance a Government of M. Mendes-France replace that of M. Faure—the new Government may have different views as to how this question is to be approached.

Militarism's monster bureaucracy

THE South East Asian Treaty Organisation has now been in existence for nine months, and a comment made by The Times on its present position points to a development of militarism on a

world scale that does not come in for a great deal of attention.

Every so often Lord Beaverbrook's organs run a campaign on the waste involved in the staffing of the United Nations and its subsidiary organs, and although we are very often doubtful about the tone and motivation of the criticisms urged in these campaigns, those who have been able to observe some of the agents of these organisations at work have no doubt that the need for criticism often arises.

Work for world welfare in an international civil service is inevitably not easily submitted to the close scrutiny to which the national civil services can be subject, and it is in fact necessary that a really good international civil servant shall be a dedicated man or woman with a strong sense of vocation; and it is quite clear that the staffing arrangements cannot always work out that this is the type of person that is recruited.

In the last decade, however, there has been built up an enormous international bureaucratic structure that does not exist to serve the purposes of the United Nations but rather in spite of UN, NATO, SEATO, the European "defence" committees, and all the rest.

The Times remarks that in the nine months of its existence SEATO has become top-heavy with committees. These cover economic, political and military affairs and also propaganda for the countering of "subversion." SEATO, of course, represents only a minor section of the enormous structure of this kind that has been built up, and the actual amount of bureaucratic waste that is nowadays being piled up on top of the traditional waste of militarism is appalling to contemplate.

Report from the West Indies

AS expected, news from Jamaica indicates that the Report prepared by Dr. Clarence Senior and Mr. Douglas Manley for the Jamaican Government on the welfare of West Indian migrants in this country has stressed two points. One is that a programme of orientation for intending migrants to Britain should be instituted in the West Indies, and the other main recommendation calls for the development of a Jamaican or West Indian welfare service at home.

West Indian migration is, of course, only part of the migration of workers from the Colonies and Commonwealth that has accelerated in post-war years.

The present influx of West Indians now running at a yearly rate of about 20,000, is likely to continue for some years to come. The challenge to the British people is on the ordinary human level, whether or not the West Indian (and other strangers) are going to be accepted as neighbours. Realising this need the British Council of Churches has recently published, particularly to assist local church leaders and workers, a readable little booklet, *Your Neighbour from the West Indies*, (price 1s.).

Watching Britain

WEST Indians would seem to have little difficulty in obtaining work in this country, though perhaps not always exactly the kind desired.

The 1955 conference of the TUC Southport carried unanimously a resolution from the Civil Service Clerical Association condemning "all manifestations of racial discrimination or colour prejudice, whether by Government employers or workers."

Whether this lead is followed by local trade unionists is less certain.

Although the historical background of their suspicions can be understood, the time has come when British workers must accept their comrades from overseas whether they be miners from Italy or bus crews from Jamaica.

Many people in other countries are watching today how Britain handles its race relations problems on its own doorstep.

It is in the field of employment that the test may come. In the event of economic recession with jobs becoming scarcer, ugly incidents could well occur if efforts are not made now in a time of comparatively full employment, to put race relations on a neighbourly basis.

Letter from USA by A.J. Muste

so it is now in a position to end the West's monopoly as "supplier of arms and capital."

Then he comes to the important point, the purpose of my present discussion, that the Soviet's launching of what amounts to a version of a Marshall Plan and Point Four programme at the moment when powerful elements in the US government advocate "neutralism" is a force to be reckoned with. The "neutral" nations cannot be frightened or bludgeoned into giving up their non-alignment; neither can you get them directly to come into your military orbit. You can only drive them away from you, if your own policy fails to accept these facts and to base itself on them.

Lippman goes on to surmise that this is the unaligned nations in a favourable position for forcing Russia and the US to bid against each other, as it were, and so he would "guess" we are going to see a more advanced form of neutralism, of non-alignment, of—to use the old American name for it—a policy of "entangling alliances."

This is not the first time that Lippman has commented on the role of "the narrow between." It seems to me that his present comment is discerning and correct. It is also encouraging.

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FROM DEFENCE MINISTRY AND PEACE COUNCIL TO ADDRESS YOUTH

Which of these policies do you think Britain should follow:

1. Disarm completely without regard to the action of other nations?
2. Make a supreme effort to persuade all nations to disarm, accept international inspection and control of all arms, and to ban atomic weapons?
3. Give up trying to obtain disarmament and rely upon the fear of the Hydrogen Bomb as a deterrent?

TEENAGE school children and students, members of the conference arranged by the Council for Education in World Citizenship (an Organisation of the United Nations Association), will be discussing these questions during the thirteenth Christmas Holiday Lectures and Discussions, to be held at Central Hall, Westminster, from December 27 to December 30.

Among the wide and interesting programme scheduled for the conference, which fills the Central Hall each year, will be such topics as "War and Peace," "Race," "Social Progress," and "One World or Two."

The objective of the United Nations is to persuade all nations to agree to stop making new weapons; to give up most of the armaments they already possess; and to join in establishing one military force under the control of the United Nations which could be used as a "world police force" to maintain peace. So far agreement has not been reached, although in the last few months the opposing points of view have come nearer to one another than ever before.

Mr. Clement Attlee will be discussing this subject after the Minister for Defence has opened the conference on December 27.

Fighting poverty and disease

On December 29, Ritchie Calder, C.B.E., Science Editor of the News Chronicle and a Vice-Chairman of the National Peace Council, will be talking about the help required by the people whose lives are stunted and warped through the evils of poverty, disease, and ignorance. Can we in this country afford additional taxation to provide our share of the amounts needed to help these people or can we afford "not to afford" them? These are the questions which will be asked and answered.

Mrs. Pandit, High Commissioner for India, will be speaking on December 30 of the part India has taken in trying to mediate between East and West.

Can the UN fulfil its vital task to ensure that we face the immense problems before us as one world? Have we, as individual men and women, that "will to peace" which alone can enable the UN to be used as it exists to be used?

During the past ten years it has become quite clear that the solution of practically every international problem, the possibility of every advance to a better world has been hampered and bedevilled by either the East or the West.

Mrs. Pandit will outline the position on December 30, and will talk of the part the UN plays, and the efforts of a third group, led by India, striving to mediate and reconcile.

Pacifist Youth Action Group's Conference plans—page 12.

Briefly

Refusal to employ coloured people has resulted in the picketing of the offices of the American Automobile Association in New York, by the Congress of Racial Equality, 513 West 166th Street, N.Y. 32, N.Y.

"The enemy is not this or that country, but war itself," is the wording on a new poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board.

Danny Kaye's film "Assignment Children" has been viewed by at least 40 million people in the US estimates UNICEF. Issued in 18 languages, it has been sent to places all over the world.

World death rates dropped 36 per cent and birth rates fell eight per cent between 1938 and 1953, according to UN Statistics Office.

Send your last-minute orders to

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Please add postage 4d. per book—over 30s. post free.

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3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Selwyn Lloyd, Attlee,

Ritchie Calder and

Mrs. Pandit for

Christmas Conference

Peace News asked Adriaan Viruly, Dutch author-flyer and broadcaster, to contribute a message for this Christmas Number. He writes:

Onward Christian Soldiers...

"ONWARD—in what direction?"

"No one with the power of imagination and the conscience of a Christian and a gentleman can doubt it any longer: no decent man can lend himself to modern war of the post-Bikini era."

★

"Increasing expenditure on bacteriological warfare, the destruction by radioactivity of civilian populations, airmen trained to murder thousands of women and schoolchildren—whose conscience could bear to be responsible for that?"

"If even at Christmas army padres and distributors of charity are not permitted to say so, we shall: Christians who are prepared to fight with H-bombs and bacteria and poison gas, go to war like Herod's soldiers when, under orders to extinguish the Light of the World, they turned out to murder the children of Bethlehem—but they have a better chance of success. No flight will be possible."

"Was there ever a time when it was considered honorable to wear military uniform?"

"That time is obviously over now, Christian soldiers!"



From The Editor's Notebook

AT THE GERMAN WAR OFFICE

THE German War Office was one of the places visited by Eric Tucker, Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee and a member of the Peace News Board, when he was in Germany last month.

Together with Margarethe Lachmund, representative of German Quakers, he had a series of interviews with West German Government officials with whom they pressed the claims of conscientious objectors under new conscription laws.

"Conscription is not likely to be introduced in Germany immediately," Eric Tucker tells me. "But undoubtedly the Defence Ministry is well advanced in its preparation of draft legislation."

"The Constitution provides for the recognition of conscientious objection, but, without any tradition of conscientious objection to guide them, the draft proposals do not compare favourably with British legislation."

BUT YOU CAN'T JUDGE CONSCIENCE

ERIC TUCKER was able to tell West German officials about the procedure adopted in Britain. But he underlined the fact that no satisfactory method of judging a man's conscience can be devised.

The two Quakers spent two hours in the office of Dr. Beerman, the defence expert of the Social Democratic Party. "He was anxious to record in detail procedures followed in Britain," says Eric Tucker.

CHRISTMAS TRADITION

THE picture right shows two members of the Pacifist Youth Action Group who joined in selling Peace News on Christmas Eve in Trafalgar Square last year. Ninety copies were sold quite quickly to the large crowds gathered to join in carol singing around the Christmas tree.

This year I am asked to invite all our readers in London to join the group; meeting on the steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church at 5.30 p.m. on Saturday, December 24.

Of course one of the sellers will be dressed as Father Christmas. This may well become

as much a tradition as the setting up of the tree in the Square.

IN CHARING CROSS ROAD

NO one devotes more time to the work of street-selling than Mrs. Winifred Greenfield, whom many London readers must have seen, and heard, on the job in the Charing Cross Road area.

Overcoming the language difficulty, a visitor from Belgium recently approached Mrs. Greenfield and bought a copy of what was, to her, a quite unknown publication. A week or two later we at the office received this encouraging comment from Liege:

"Give my thanks to the lady who sold me your so interesting newspaper, of which I



OUR CHERUBS



Children gathered around a Christmas tree; happy, trusting, secure in their home background.

This is a scene that will present itself to many readers this month.

Perhaps, as I do, you know of one particular child with a smile like one of Douglas May's cherubs on our front page. A joy to look at.

Weapons are being made to destroy that very child. A million men in Britain and millions more elsewhere are working, training, planning to bring about that child's death. But they don't see it that way. "They know not what they do."

Preparation for war is the greatest evil of our day; the twentieth century equivalent to the slave trade, but more deadly.

Winning public opinion over to a policy of unilateral disarmament is an urgent duty. It demands the utmost vigour and energy, especially from our youth for they may see victory in their time.

Keep Peace News—the only newspaper which advocates disarmament now—in the forefront of a growing movement. Send what you can to our Forward Fund—it must stand at £2,000 by December 31. THE EDITOR.

Three anonymous contributions are gratefully acknowledged. From W.1, 10s.; S.E.24, 2s. 6d.; Driffeld 2s. 6d.

Contributions since Dec. 2: £47 16s. 3d. Total since Jan. 1, 1955: £1,405 6s. 2d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Bribery in Cyprus

From MARGARET TIMS

SPEAKING in London recently at a meeting organised by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mr. S. A. Kyprianou, Secretary of the Ethnarchy of Cyprus, said that the whole question of Cyprus was a moral rather than an historical one: the point was not whether Cyprus is a part of Greece, but what the Cypriot people want to do.

It was said that the Enosis (Union with Greece) movement was the work of a few fanatics; if so, why would not the British Government agree to hold a referendum and prove this? The Cypriots have protested against British rule for 70 years by means of petitions and delegations. Promises of Enosis were made in both world wars and never fulfilled.

Now the Government was trying to bribe them into silence with a promise of £38 million for economic and social development. This attempt would not succeed, but there was still time to save unnecessary bloodshed if the British Government would apply the principle of self-determination.

Mr. Kyprianou gave the following replies to questions:

Bases: If Cyprus were granted self-determination, this would be a matter for the Greek government, which, as a member of Nato, was under an obligation to provide bases.

Education: This has always been Greek, even under Turkish rule.

Turkish minority: Turks living in Cyprus would have the same rights as the Turkish minority in Greece. (The population in Cyprus is 82.5 per cent Greek and 17.2 per cent Turkish.)

had never heard before. I send you also 2s. 6d. to receive Peace News during nine weeks. Please send me as quickly as possible a set of your Christmas Cards, which I will offer at a Bazaar at my Protestant Church."

Not all of the fifty people who buy Peace News from Mrs. Greenfield write personally to the office, but this is just one indication of the great value of regular street-selling—a form of propaganda for which we need very many more volunteers.

REMEMBERED IN GAOL

NEARLY £22; £43; £60; and now over £80.

That is the story of Mansfield Peace Group's annual Christmas card selling drive since four years ago members first tried their hands as salesmen (and women!) with Endsleigh Christmas Cards and those published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

"We claim no particular credit, as we find that few people refuse to buy, but we feel that if a small group like Mansfield can so easily make a substantial contribution to national peace work, many bigger branches ought to do far better," writes the Group Secretary.

Almost three-quarters of this year's £80 7s. 5d. total represents sales of Endsleigh cards, and the Mansfield pacifists have only claimed a small proportion of the discount to which they were entitled.

But nearly 130 of the cards from the sample sets which they circulated for over 10 weeks were "not for sale."

Instead, they are being sent to every war resister known to the War Resisters' International to be in prison this Christmas for his faith. They will give encouragement to young men not only in British prisons, but detained in the United States, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

One Mansfield Peace Group committee member who did his "stint" of envelope-addressing knows only too well what encouragement is to be derived from a greetings card from an unknown friend when sitting in a prison cell. For during the First World War, Harold Farnham, Kirkby-in-Ashfield pit worker and member of the Church of Christ, "did time" at Durham and "The Scrubs" because, like thousands more, he believed military service incompatible with Christianity.

CHRISTMAS IN CUSTODY

A story by Sybil Morrison set in London at the close of World War 1

IT was the year 1919; the war was over, and the gaps at the family Christmas dinner too many, and too sorrowful. Moreover, I had become cynical about the whole conception of Christmas, and what I called "organised peace and goodwill."

My family believed I was with friends, and my friends believed I was with my family; my landlady discreetly revealed nothing of what she believed, and gave me cutlets, brussels-sprouts and potatoes, flanked by a large half-warm mince pie for my lunch. She begged to be excused for the evening since her family expected her for tea and supper.

There was a volume of Sherlock Holmes stories among my gifts, and I determined to sit by the fire with my feet on the mantelpiece (metaphorically only, since the position, physically, is extremely uncomfortable for a woman), and brave it out.

It was ridiculous, I told myself, to allow sentimental notions about an outworn idea to interfere with the perfect enjoyment of two clear days' holiday entirely on my own. Had I not often declared that to be alone was an essential to well-being which could seldom be indulged. "Indulged"—that was the word. Now, at last, I was going to indulge myself.

But somehow it seemed awkward and strange. It was not so much that memories intruded, as that a diabolical self-consciousness assailed me. I was so acutely aware of my solitude on this day of gregarious conviviality, that I could not enjoy my Holmes, nor even laugh at my Watson.

It was one of those brittle December days when the sun shines, and the air, though cold, is clear and bright. The birds were actually twittering on the bare, black branches of the chestnut tree in the backyard, inducing a sense of spring's nearness.

I decided to go out. In the streets there was a peculiar silence; a few buses still rattled by, and a few people carrying parcels, or pots of flowers, hurried on their way; but the majority of London's population were indoors, either recovering from their mid-day feast, or preparing for their evening one.



It occurred to me, forgetting my cynicism, that this was the day when my chosen solitude should include some lonely person; lonely, not as I was from choice, but from lack of friends or relatives.

"The Embankment," I said to myself. The Thames' waters were in, flowing fast and strong, wind-ruffled and dark; there was very little sign, or sound, of life; no barges, no ships, no whistles or hoots; a few seagulls banked and swooped in the now greying sky, and the benches overlooking the silent waters of the Chelsea reach were as empty as all the rest of my world.

Suddenly I saw an elderly woman, who sat

down on a seat not fifty yards from where I stood. Now was my chance. I sat down beside her. She took no notice, and seemed to be staring dreadingly out to the opposite bank.

"I hope," I ventured, "that you are not feeling lonely?"

She turned upon me a look of the utmost astonishment, which changed rapidly to annoyance. "Oh, dear, no," she exclaimed, with a good deal of indignation sounding in her cultured voice, and rising, she hurried away.

I walked off in the opposite direction, trying not to feel cast down by this snub. It was nearly dark now, and windows were beginning to glow with tiny pin-points of light. There really seemed nothing for it, after all, but to retreat to my fireside and my chosen reading.

I TURNED away resolutely, making for the fogs of Baker Street, the clip-clop of horse-drawn cabs, the telegrams, the tensions, and the mysteries of Conan Doyle's underworld, when I saw a solitary figure lean over, and then climb on to the parapet.

I ran; here was the answer to all my uncertainties; it was clear that fate had decreed I should, in my loneliness on Christmas day, be an instrument of succour to a fellow human being. As I came nearer I saw it was a woman, and she was now hanging over in a most precarious position; it would never do to frighten her in case she took the final plunge before I could exert my strength to prevent it.

I stood panting beside her, and said, as quietly as I could, "The Thames is looking really beautiful today, isn't it?" She gave no start, made no attempt to dive, but hanging over even more dangerously than before, she cried eagerly, in a young, ardent voice, "Yes, do look! Aren't they absolutely perfect?"

I leaned over, too, and saw the pair of swans, majestically taking the water from the edge of some steps like twin boats launched by one hand, then swimming away side by side; confident, elegant and proud.

Nevertheless, I thought, this might be an attempt to deceive me; suicides were proverbially cunning. I stayed close, therefore, admiring the swans, but ready to clutch if she moved.

"Perhaps," I began diffidently, mindful of my last rebuff, "if you are alone you would like—" but she was not listening; she had swung round to greet a large young man into whose arm she tucked her hand, and her voice came ringing back to me as they strolled away: "A happy Christmas, darling."

It was clear that all my ideas were wrong; no one was lonely, except perhaps myself. But I had often been alone before and never

felt this dreadful sense of desolation; to go back to my rooms, now, and spend the evening alone appalled me. I had been against organised goodwill, and yet what had I been doing, but forcing my own unwanted goodwill on to other people?

I suddenly realised that Christmas, because it is a time of rejoicing, needs to be shared; to grieve alone is possible, and for some a sheer necessity, but to rejoice alone is an anachronism.

I STOOD at the street corner, lost in contemplation of this thought, when a voice close to my ear said: "Can I help you?"

I turned to see a policeman at my side. I shook my head. "No, thank you," I answered.

"Nowhere to go?" he asked, good naturedly.

"Well, I've a perfectly good warm room and a book to go to," I found myself confiding to him, "but—" I hesitated, at a loss to explain.

He looked closely at me, and to my immense astonishment took off his helmet, revealing a fair, fresh young face under curling brown hair.

"Look here," he said, with a kind of urgency in his voice, "I'm just off duty, going home. I'm newly married, and the missus and I, we thought as 'ow we'd spend our first Christmas on our own, but this morning she was proper upset about it. 'Selfish,' she said it was, and she says to me: 'If you can find someon as 'as no one belongin' to 'em like, you bring 'em back to 'ave a bite with us.' That's wot she said, so there you are. Wot about it?"

I could scarcely believe it. No one belonging to me—me! I was opening my mouth, not to snub him as I had been sunbbed, but to explain I was alone by choice, when he touched my arm: "You come along 'o me, Miss," he said.

This phrase, with its sinister significance, put a stop to my excuses for I found myself laughing for the first time that day. "Thank you," I said, "I'd like to."

As I walked with him the short distance to the tenement flat where he lived, I remembered that he and his colleagues, these same kind-hearted London "bobbies," had handled myself and my friends with complete ruthlessness during the recent campaign for the women's vote.

He had been too young, he said when I mentioned it, and declared he would never have done that to any woman. My cynicism seemed to have deserted me, for I believed him.

Plainly his pretty little wife had never expected anyone like me; she had thought to see a "down and out," a tramp, or a poor old lonely "grandma." But they were naturally

courteous people, and over the roast chicken and plum pudding I heard of his war service, and of hers, and we exchanged recollections of war-time Christmases.

WE had come to the end of the meal, and a bottle of light, sweet port wine had been produced for the grand ending of the feast. It was then that he told us, not very well, rather discursively and diffidently, the story of his 1918 Christmas in occupied Germany.

He had been through four years of war without once having Christmas leave, and had especially looked forward, therefore, after the Armistice, to being at home for Christmas. When he received orders to go with his regiment to the Ruhr, he was both angered and dismayed. To add to his disappointment and horror he found that he was to be billeted with a German family; the idea of occupying the same house as a "bloody Boche," one of those men who cut off children's hands, and crucified their prisoners, nearly caused him to desert.



He was amazed, therefore, to find that the German miner and his wife and two small children were very ordinary people, and after the first few days, the barrier he had raised in his mind against them went down before their gentleness and their kindness.

They were very poor people, with scarcely enough to eat and keep themselves warm, yet because his Christmas parcel from home did not arrive, they contrived to put some fruit and most treasured and hoarded chocolate, on his plate at breakfast on Christmas day.

"I'll never forget them—they were ever so good to me," he said in awed tones, the transformation from the "bloody Boche" into an ordinary man like himself being still so recent a miracle.

Remembering that he had said he would have refused to man-handle the suffragettes, I found myself asking, "What would you have done if you had suddenly been told the war was on again and these people must be killed?"

He laughed. "Never!" he said, "I'd sooner 'ave been shot myself."

"You would have been shot, perhaps if you had refused."

He paused quite a long time, looking into the past, visualising that miner's cottage, and the simple German couple who had been good to him.

"I hope," he said at last, "that I'd 'ave been shot." In the strange dramatic silence

ON PAGE ELEVEN

Fragment from an unpublished poem

The Loadstone

And childhood, innocent
Of Godhead, bears the sufferings of God.

THE
ARCHBISHOP: War is the mother of necessity,
The grandam of invention;
Herod is excused by his intention,
Establishing a precedent:
Infanticide
(If only incidental
To what's expedient)
Henceforth is justified.

No veil was rent, no darkness fell,
For these, who died in vain;
No angel voices and no stars foretell
That homeless refugees return again.
No sign is given to this evil generation
Save the voice of a child among the slayers of children,
Confounding their university education
And robbing the Venerable of veneration.

Silent those learned men,
Jugglers with tongue and pen—
Deserts of learning, they experience
The spring of innocence.
Could but (thought one) the schools destroy
This bold, precious boy,
Sucking those springs into their arid sands
Till he knows all and nothing understands . . .
Another coins a judicious word
Concerning children seen, but never heard.

Then a post-prandial voice
Bids me rejoice
And the obsequious ether hears again
The Annunciation.
(Gabriel speaking from the Celestial Station
Upon a wave-length of three hundred metres)
He hath put down the mighty from their seats—
A galaxy of princes at St. Peter's—
Spectacular successes—heroics retreats—
The tonnage (not the men) we've lost at sea,
Exalting with posthumous decoration
Some gallant Smith or Jones of low degree.

The tyrants rail at tyranny. The slaves
Bear arms to fight for freedom.
Over a city of graves
Absolute Power defies
The hostile skies;
Till the remembered word
Unrealised
Once more upon her lips is heard
Who first devised
The anthem of revolt—
Once more she sings
Who framed the first Magnificat
Of God-rejected Kings.
And one with flaming eyes knows suddenly
His terrible destiny.

Eden, a memory of innocence
Held in the unregenerate heart of man,
Bound to a formula, a Führer,
Slave to a plan,
Cursing the Devil for his incompetence
And transient glory for its transience,
Defiling the meadows where yet
He dreams of daisy chains,
Unable to forget
His clockwork trains.

Now, prematurely wise,
The granary of youth
Disgorging memory's
Untimely truth
Strives once more to recapture
A field of lilies or a market place
(Two sparrows are sold for a farthing)
The carpenter's shop—the face
Of a child, caught in a sudden rapture;
And this was Heaven—the Kingdom stands
In a child's heart and a child's hands.
He whom "his mother
And his brethren sought"
Knew well that Brotherhood
Of which he taught;
Angels of light
And choirs of cherubim
The Church gave Mary—
But no sons save him.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

I SEE the Wise Men seeking in Jerusalem,
In Rome, Paris and Berlin; in London and New York.

They search the stars for wisdom that is sealed
And yet to fools revealed.
I hear a voice crying beyond Bethlehem
The forgotten gospel, the spiritual birth,
The sentence against which we have appealed:
"To those who have goodwill—Peace upon Earth."

Guilt-edged securities flutter,
The chancelleries tremble,
The tattered placards dissemble
Consternation in the realms of prostitution:
"Shepherds' Amazing Story—
"Alleged Birth of Saviour—
"Professors' Strange Behaviour—
"Probable Solution."
Mixed with the Legs-in-Cupboard Case
And a hot tip for the coming race;
The boys in the Fleet Street gutter
Know how to handle Glory.

Then the prophetic eyes
Of Herod, seeing between God and Mammon
Foundations of no friendly compromise,
Question the Archbishop. He explains:
Man rules, God reigns
In constitutional monarchy,
A figure-head for our designs,
A moral Bill of Health for perfidy.
Who renders unto Caesar, he confines
God's Kingdom to the Athanasian creed;
Not his the superscription
Upon the coin. He chooses
Not in this world his kingdom.
The Primate smiles. What does God need?
Heads, Herod wins, and tails—God loses.
Man rules, God reigns;
But cautious Herod takes no chances,
The pregnant wombs of aeroplanes
Bear embryonic death. Their shadow
Over a generation doomed advances . . .

VOICES: God is now a military objective.
But in its indiscriminate descent
Death fails in its directive;

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C.O. SACRIFICES MONEY, POSITION TO FACE TRIBUNAL

From a Correspondent

THE purpose of a Tribunal is not, as some applicants and witnesses seem to believe, to hear young men make the bald statement, "I object to war. I do not want to kill."

That may be enough for those who believe that the individual has a right to freedom of choice of employment, but it is not enough for the State, nor for the Tribunal who try to interpret the National Service Act.

Talk, essays, theories and ideals are all part of the pacifist's life, but, generally speaking, it is actions which give the Tribunal the sort of evidence it requires.

Such evidence was given to Fulham Tribunal recently by the mother of one of the applicants, Robert Entwistle. Robert's father had once been Secretary of the No More War Movement, and during the second world war, neighbours stoned the windows of the Entwistle house in protest of Mr. Entwistle's conscientious objection to serving with the armed services.

But Robert did not tell the Tribunal this. Basing his objection on moral grounds, he told it that he believed conscience was a higher authority than the State, that war is a legal form of homicide, and that he was willing to work as a civilian under civilian control.

The hard, unrewarding way

Even the letters containing such phrases as "high integrity," "no boy has shown greater enthusiasm," "if he cannot do military service, I feel that he will serve his country to the best of his ability" did not appear to satisfy the Tribunal.

It was Mrs. Rose Entwistle's announcement that her son could have gone into Atomic research, which would have kept him away from the Tribunal; could have joined his friends in Canada and been well-paid for it; and her statement that her son "flatly refused to do so, because he wanted to take his stand," that brought silence to the hitherto mumbling Tribunal, and from Sir Gerald Hargreaves the comment, "This puts the whole case on a higher plane."

Robert Entwistle was not given exemption. He was conscripted to do alternative service on the land, in hospital, in the building trade, or in food distribution. His own choice to continue working in the research of healing properties was not considered.

Charles Coulson, professor of applied mathematics at Oxford and a member of the Peace Pledge Union, has won the Lecomte du Novy Award for his book "Science and Christian Belief." The award is made annually to the author of the book which most effectively emphasises the union necessary between scientific enquiry and religious commitments.

'END-MILITARISM' SENATOR IS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

"Best friend of C.O.s"

UNITED STATES Senator William Langer (Republican) of North Dakota, has been chosen as the candidate of a new national political party for President of the United States.

Chosen as a candidate for Vice-President was Burr McCloskey, executive secretary of the "American Rally," the sponsoring group, which describes itself as a non-partisan educational association.

The platform of the new party called for demilitarisation and "repudiation of war and conscription."

The platform of the "American Rally," the sponsoring group of the new party, states:

"Abandon all the worthless trappings of so-called civil defence, which are mainly designed to regiment the population, not to save lives. . . .

"Return the common defence to control by civilian government, based on principles of honest diplomacy, open negotiation and intelligent planning."

"Take defence policy away from the Pentagon, which is specialised only in obsolete

arts of warfare and perverted with concepts of force and violence.

Establish a Secretary of Peace with Cabinet status; bar all representatives of the Pentagon from holding public office or influencing foreign policy. Select commissions of inquiry and make public all studies of the long-range consequence of atomic-hydrogen production and explosion on men and nature. . . .

"Drive militarism out of government and education."

"End, for all time, any form of military conscription (Selective Service as well as UMT) which is unAmerican. . . . Stop all old-line Prussianised military training which diverts youth from socially useful ends. . . .

"Organise volunteer citizens' militias, men

FORGOTTEN TREATY

The United States has agreed with other governments, and its citizens should support its pledge, "that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature, or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means," thus renouncing war "as an instrument of national policy."

—"War Resistance," by William Floyd.

and women, for part-time drill in anti-aircraft training, along sports lines, with an elective structure."

The "American Rally" platform calls for "PEACE here, now and on all fronts and Non-Violence in organisational action."

Senator William Langer has been described as "the best friend of conscientious objectors in the US Senate." The "American Rally" has an isolationist, conservative background.

CHRISTMAS CROSSWORD CONTEST

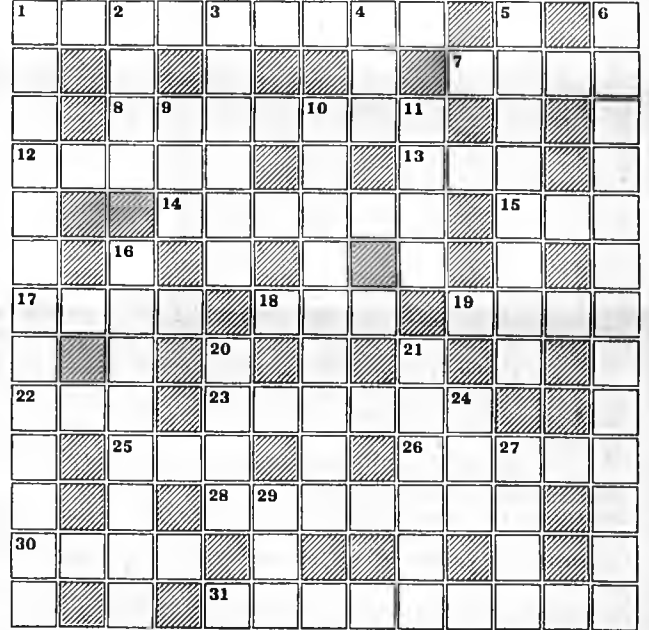
Compiled by R. DU FEU EDWARDS

ACROSS

- The spirit of which we must always encourage (9).
- Natural illuminant (4).
- Angus, kilt included, left us out when it came to nattering (7).
- Keep on working for it (5).
- Clear (3).
- Employ (6).
- Language (3).
- Turn coin for Russian image (4).
- Pam turns round, indicating where other peoples live (3).
- Mind you don't on ice (4).
- Poetic even turns round and makes its debut (3).
- It depends how far I go to find him all over the place (6).
- Groove (3).
- You may rue aid, but leave out a letter of farewell (5).
- Wilberforce was this for the Emancipation of slaves (7).
- Tens thanks for a particle (4).
- Ginger estimates as I go out with friends (9).

DOWN

- I'm partly with this chap's opinion (13).
- A hillock turns up, in turn! (4).
- Thus lent by the Isle-of-Wight (6).
- Most of the Indian money for her (3).
- Benevolence (8).
- Can't you make suspicion pass unnoticed without Scotch tea (13).
- High card in most games (3).
- Where the Prince of (12 across) was born (2, 1, 6).
- Neutral tint (4).
- Meditate or, do without it but quote a fair price (8).
- Newts (4).
- Necktie (6).
- Poem (3).
- I did not walk below the Caspian (4).
- Pitch (3).



Fill in the coupon, and post your entry, with a 6d. stamp, to "Competition," Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4, to arrive not later than January 1. A £1 ls. book token will be awarded to the first correct entry.

Name
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6d.
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here

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION sends Christmas Greetings to all readers of Peace News and invites them to help to establish Peace on Earth and Goodwill amongst men.

Based on the individual pledge to renounce war, the PPU urges that . . .

BRITAIN SHOULD DISARM AND LEAD THE WORLD TO PEACE

Our plans for 1956 include

THE SCHOOL BOYS' EXHIBITION

Helpers urgently wanted to give out leaflets at the Horticultural Halls, Westminster. Any time between 10 a.m., and 8 p.m., from December 31 to January 14, 1956 (Sundays excepted). Phone EUS 5501, or write to Sybil Morrison.

FIFTEEN DEMONSTRATIONS

WE HOPE TO SEE YOU at some of the 15 DEMONSTRATIONS which the Campaign Committee are arranging at centres within 70 miles from London at fortnightly intervals during the Spring and Summer—Poster Parade; Peace Exhibition; Buffet Tea; "Any Questions?"

Fuller particulars from Sybil Morrison.

POSTERS, one of several available for bill-posting, window display or poster marches, is shown left.

The photograph is by Michael Peto.



HIS HOPE FOR THE FUTURE: A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

The Peace Pledge Union is glad to supply speakers, leaflets, posters and to loan a peace exhibition and P.P.U. films to groups. Library available for members.

PEACE HANDBOOK

WHAT IS THE PPU? How does it work? Read THE HOUSE THAT DICK BUILT. The handbook invaluable to all area and group officials and individual members. Ask for a copy.

You are warmly invited to pay a visit to

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

to which address all enquiries about these and other events should be addressed.

SUMMER CONFERENCE ON WELSH COAST

WE HAD SUCH A HAPPY TIME this year that we have again booked PANTYFEDWEN, BORTH, WALES, for our summer holiday conference, from July 28 to August 4, 1956. Will you join us? Families specially welcome. Inclusive cost—adults, £6 10s.; children, £5 7s. 6d. Applications to the General Secretary.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY

DO YOU want Britain to disarm? If so, join the rally on Saturday, June 2, 1956, and march with the pipe band to Trafalgar Square.

BOOK THE DATE NOW: See Peace News for full details later.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

ALL MEMBERS will be warmly welcomed at the Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Place, London, W.C.1. April 21-22, 1956.

APPLY for full agenda and ticket to the General Secretary.

GOODWILL GIRL OF 1955



Father Christmas sometimes assigns his job to Mother Christmas, but we've never seen or heard of Miss Christmas taking over this strenuous job.

Not until we found 13-year-old Londoner, Zowie Warren holding some of the toys collected by her and other British Junior Red Cross cadets, for the American children whose parents were victims of the recent devastating floods.

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN SOCIAL COMMITMENT

Edited by John Ferguson

Contributors:

L. W. Grensted, John Ferguson, John H. Hick, Geoffrey F. Nuttall, E. L. Allen, Nels Ferre, H. D. Lewis.

The writers of these essays are concerned to show that what is called Christian Pacifism is not the manifestation within the Church of a sectarian viewpoint, but that the spirit of love, which it represents, is inherent and central in the Christian Gospel.

8s. 6d. net

PACIFISM AND SOME CHRISTIAN CENTRALITIES

Norman Goodall

In a day when pacifism in the minds of the generality of people seems irrelevant, Dr. Goodall points to three great centralities of our Faith as the basis of pacifist thinking and teaching.

7d. net

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London, E.C.4

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

ETHEL MANNIN reviews a "fine and valuable book" by **LESLIE HALE M.P.**

IT is impossible in the necessarily limited space available in these columns adequately to review Leslie Hale's valuable and important book, **THIRTY WHO WERE TRIED, OR ETERNAL VIGILANCE**, and I will therefore attempt only to indicate the nature of this work which every pacifist will read with interest and satisfaction, and which every pacifist should attempt to persuade non-pacifists to read.

The book would have been better entitled simply, "Eternal Vigilance," for it is not very clear exactly who were the thirty who were tried, and there is—regrettably—no index to assist the reader. Nor is the number of the trials of any importance.

The immense value of the book lies in its range, for the survey of outstanding trials, just and unjust, begins in the reign of Edward IV with two examples representing "the high-water mark of infamous judicial subservience to the monarchy," and continues on through the centuries right up to the present day, with a reference to the hanging of Timothy John Evans and the wretched Bentley boy.

A deep purpose

In this sense the book is a handbook of famous trials—the Dreyfus case, the case of Saccho and Vanzetti, the Matteotti case, the Reichstag fire trial, the Scottsboro case, the trials in Kenya, the Nuremberg trials (I am aware that these are not in their chronological order) the trial of von Manstein, to name only the most outstanding.

But merely to catalogue the famous political trials and *causes célèbres* is not the author's intention; his purpose goes very much deeper.

In the first section of the book he shows the evolution of trial-by-jury, from the days when juries could be "packed" and intimidated, until the trial of William Penn laid the foundation of juries to become what they are today, "sole and undisputed judges of fact."

The second part of the book shows the decline in public morality caused by two world wars, from the storm of indignation aroused by the Dreyfus case and the Saccho and Vanzetti case, down to the general indifference over the Matteotti murder and the Dimitrov trial.

Part Three is entitled "The Subject Races" and leads up to the Denshawite episode of 1906, in which a number of Egyptian fellaheen attacked a party of British officers out pigeon-shooting and were summarily tried and sentenced to death, up to the trial of Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya in 1952. Part Four, "Guilt by Association," takes us from the trial of Eugene V. Debs up to the witch-hunt in modern America.

Does anyone care?

In Part Five, "Trial in the Dark," the story of Maria Spiridonova, the Russian social revolutionary of Tsarist times, leads up to the Iron Curtain trials of the present day. In the sixth and final section of the book we come to our shabby contemporary history and "The Trials of the Generals." The story of the decline in public morals is completed.

In his Conclusion the author observes:

"The revelations of the Dreyfus case arouse the sympathy and indignation of the world. Millions shared the long agony of Saccho and Vanzetti . . . Today and every day, somewhere in the world, a Dreyfus dies on the scaffold or in captivity. . . . Almost unmoved we still can hear the creak of the gallows in Kenya, but the million sighs from the slave camps and prisons of

the Soviet countries fall on ears that are deaf. The theory of the inevitability of human progress is dead, with the conception of the perfectibility of man. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed more collective horror, more organised tyranny, than any comparable period in history. The naive idealism of the nineteenth century perished in the concentration camps and the gas chambers. The decline in public morals is nowhere more clearly indicated than in the attitude of an increasingly monolithic society to the rights of the individual. Even during the slaughter of the First World War the death of a Nurse Cavell or of a Captain Fryatt was of deep human concern; in the Second World War the deliberate extinction of great towns with their whole populations became an accepted instrument of policy, and at the end our statesmen thanked God for His mercy in raining fire on Nagasaki and Hiroshima."

In spite of this, however, Leslie Hale does not see why there should not be a "restoration of a world conception of justice."

As he sees it two things are necessary—"the creation of a code of international law with sanctions for its enforcement, and the establishment of a juridical enforcement of Human Rights." He believes that in the former field we can work through UNO, and in the latter "take the initiative alone and set an example to the world."

He considers that Britain is in a better position than any other country in the world to attempt to call a halt to the retrograde process of the decay of political justice and the general decline of international morals.

Britain has it in her power, he forthrightly declares, "through the medium of the recognition of the Human Right, to give a new impetus to the struggle for political justice, just as she has the opportunity and the duty to lead the campaign against poverty, want and economic injustice."

We are all debased

In his Introduction the author gets in a useful and pointed comment on Capital Punishment:

"Often when the progressive speaks of law reform, he is met with the jibe that he is more concerned with the murderer than with his victim. So it should be, because the murderer is our responsibility and his extermination is our collective act. We did not murder Beryl Evans. We did hang Timothy John. We employed a respectable publican to do it for us, and we did it as quietly as possible because most of us are thoroughly ashamed of the business. We didn't know then that Evans was innocent, nor could we have discovered the fact. We took young Bentley out one morning and broke his neck . . . we dropped those bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

Had he written the book a little later the author could—and assuredly would—have added, "and one beautiful summer morning we took a young and pretty woman out and hanged her for a *crime passionnel*." As one of the daily papers observed, with savage irony, it was a nice day for the races, a nice day to go swimming, a nice day for a hanging . . . because we are all that debased; because it was never true, as Leslie Hale points out, that the rule of law was a continuous and progressive historical process; because we have built a world in which human life, collectively and individually, is no longer revered; a world in which the arteries of human feeling have been hardened by two world wars, and our sense of collective responsibility become atrophied.

In his fine and valuable book Leslie Hale indicates a way back out of the moral morass; if we have individually and collectively the wisdom and humanity to follow it. We can only begin with ourselves.

The Admiralty opens the Festive Season

ONE of the thought-provoking talks of 1955, "The Price of Prosperity" (Third), by Anthony Crosland, was delivered at such sustained speed that much was lost by overlapping. Point followed point with rapidity; the mind became confused, boggled, and much excellent material escaped the listener in the chase.

Under the sub-title of "The Arrogance of Austerity," Mr. Crosland sought to prove "that the benefits of a higher material standard of living far outweigh any possible ill effects."

We agree with him "that a nervous suspicion of prosperity and material abundance lurks just beneath the surface in Britain," and that "our educated intelligentsia has long had an instinct towards (vicarious) austerity. (And keep us in our proper stations!)"

We believe man is far nobler when not denied the full fruits of the earth, and most unworthy when he enjoys them at the expense and suffering of his brother.

Mr. Crosland did not touch on hire purchase, and the resulting consequences in the event of a slump. Limiting his review to Britain—and a fleeting comparison with the USSR, France and the USA—he was able to present an agreeable picture by omitting any reference to the degradation and squalor in the Colonies.

While it may be salutary to be reminded when dealing with our fellow countrymen that "those enjoying an above average standard of living should be rather chary of admonishing those less fortunate on the peril of material riches," the injunction would be more pertinent if directed towards our conduct with dependent Coloured peoples.

This being the Festive Season, nothing surprises us. The prodigals of the East and West, having wasted their substance in riotous living, are now reformed.

We set the best example by burning down the Admiralty (let the good work continue). Our Russian friends, having assumed the role of the Wise Men and followed their (red) star to the East have not spared themselves converting the Indians to Peace by "talking turkey." Not to be outdone by these practical demonstrations of the Geneva spirit, Mr. Dulles—according to "Voice of America" (Tangiers)—has, of his bounteous charity, recognised Goa as Portuguese territory.

With love abounding, we imagine the invitations to the Christmas feast at UNO will be carefully worded to allow of no ambiguity. Similar, in fact, to the one sent during the Passover to a Chief Rabbi, by a Bishop, which contained the appetising reminder that there was roast pork for dinner. Regretting a prior engagement, the Chief Rabbi assured the Bishop he would be charmed to accept his gracious invitation and partake of the roast pork with him on the only day of the year he was available—Good Friday.

A Peaceful and Happy Christmas to everybody.

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Friday, December 16
LONDON, W.6: 8 p.m.; 1a Melrose Gdns., Hammersmith. E. A. Law, "Why I am a Pacifist." FoR.

Saturday, December 17
BIRMINGHAM: 3.30 p.m.; The Beehive, Bishopgate Street, Birmingham, 15. Christmas party. West Midlands Area, PPU.

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DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

BOW, E.3: 7.30 p.m.; Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd. Christmas social evening. Dancing, refreshments, ending with carols. All welcome. PPU and Kingsley Hall.

LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m.; Poster March in sympathy with French COs imprisoned for 7 years. Assemble Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, and march through West End to French Embassy. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LONDON, W.C.1: 5.30 p.m.; "Pindar of Wakefield," Grays Inn Road. Social Evening and Dance. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Sunday, December 18

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; Kings Welsh Ho., Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.) Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Rev. W. J. Piggott, M.A. "Animals and Angels." PPU Religion Commission.

LATEST TIMES FOR ADVERTISEMENTS

Items for Diary and Classified Advertisements for DECEMBER 30 issue MUST be received by first post THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22.

Tuesday, December 20

READING: 7.30 p.m.; Tyndale Baptist Ch., Cressington Rd., Reading. International Christmas Party. All welcome. Tyndale Christian Endeavour.

Thursday, December 22

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "Group let Loose." PPU.

Thursday, December 29

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. AGM. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Arlo Tatum, "The Psychology of Non-Violence." PYAG.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomed gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4.

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the members of which refrain from
participation in war, send greetings
to all who work for peace and the
non-violent way.

Secretary:
MARGERY M. BURDETT,
Sherwood Rise, Little Johns Cross Hill,
Exeter, England.

Greetings to all who make
and send and collect and sell and buy
this paper. May they increase. Especial
thanks to all those in the Peace News
office.—Anon.

THE IRISH PACIFIST MOVEMENT
salutes all friends abroad, more
especially those in prison for their
attachment to the non-violent path

**Sincere greetings to all
who work and pray for
peace.**

THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
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its necessity.

Best wishes all over the world
PARLEMENT—Laethem-St. Martin, Belgium

TO ALL VEGETARIAN PACIFISTS

May your Christmas
table be all the
merrier because
unsullied by the
products of the
ceaseless war on the
humbler creation

"Irish Vegetarian"

To those in trouble for conscience
sake, with family, friends, employer,
associates or government:

ENCOURAGEMENT

Live for the long run and let the short run
take care of itself.—Anon. Canada.

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS FROM IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION

CHRISTMAS signifies the ever-recurrent advent of new
life full of hope and beauty for mankind ● It signifies
also Motherhood stretching out arms of compassion and
love to weak and suffering people ● In the spirit of our
common motherhood we women of Ireland, send out to men
and women in other lands, East and West, a message of hope
for the realisation of the promises of the Christmas Festival.



Greetings



Warm Christmas greetings to our readers everywhere, and thanks for the
encouragement and support we have received during the past year.

From the Editor, staff and voluntary workers at Peace News offices in London and
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

INTERNATIONAL HELP FOR CHILDREN

WILL YOU HELP us to give one child from a Refugee Camp a holiday with an English
family during 1956? Or would you prefer to support us in our work for British Asthmatic
Children—Greek and Yugoslav orphans—French or Italian children needing a break from
their environment? Or will you let us put your Christmas gift to the most desperate
individual case under our care?

IN ANY CASE, please send as much as you can afford to:

JOHN BARCLAY

43 Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.

PS. A personal letter of thanks will be sent to all who are members of the PPU.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS



rejoices to be in that world-wide
fellowship of goodwill inspired by
Peace News.

**Yuletide Greetings to all everywhere
who work for peace, and a
Prayer that together we may bring peace,
brotherhood and plenty to
ALL PEOPLE IN ALL LANDS**



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The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors doesn't know

how many letters it has written during the past twelve months
because it hasn't had time to count them;
but it would be pleased to write another one to you
if you are going to be a C.O.

Write or call or just ring up, at any
time between 9.30 a.m. and 5.30 p.m.; but
preferably not between 10.45 a.m. and
11 a.m., when it always drinks coffee and
is likely to be bad-tempered if disturbed.
The address is 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.
EUston 5501.

THE FELLOWSHIP PARTY

extends sincere Christmas Greetings to
all readers of Peace News wherever
they may be.

The Party hopes to contest the first
possible by-election in the New Year.
Will you please help us?

Write now to: ERIC FENNER,
General Secretary, Fellowship Party,
14, Parkgate Rd. London, S.W.11

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Write Secretary: NORTHERN FRIENDS
PEACE BOARD, Friends Meeting House,
Clifford Street, York, England, for par-
ticulars of Poster Service.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY
thankful for the freedom it enjoys to proclaim
its message and mindful of others who are under-
going hardship and persecution, sends greetings
to all workers for peace at home and abroad and
especially to those in the Reformed branch of the
Church Catholic.

GREETINGS TO WAR RESISTERS ALL OVER THE WORLD

From Jimmie and Annie Reid,
10 Melbourne Rd., Saltcoats,
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20 Christian Pacifists wanted for Russia

Write: Charles Marland, 4 Harmony Hill,
Lisburn, N. Ireland.

Greetings to peacemakers through-
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INTERNATIONAL GREETINGS

from

BERMONDSEY P.P.U.

Niemoller and Rearmament

Too little attention has been paid to Pastor Martin Niemoller. Our fire-eating rearmers ought to be reminded that he was combating Nazism while the present German generals, who are now being reinstated in their former positions of power and wickedness by British and American blind leadership, were Hitler's pawns.

In an interview with a French protestant pastor and well-known International Fellowship of Reconciliation worker, Andre Trocme, Pastor Niemoller declared:

"We expressed our repentance for all that happened under Hitler; repentance for our militarism and our nationalism and all the harm we did to the Jews and other nations; and now some nations want us to change our minds."

"Our answer is: We cannot repent of our repentance. We have accepted seriously the new mission of a weak and disarmed Germany. Do not ask us to change an attitude which we believe has God's blessing." (Reconciliation, February, 1951.)

Shame a thousand times on the victorious power worshippers for their forcing the better element in the German nation to make way for the worst.

JOSEPH G. JACKSON.

19 Coombe Gardens,
Ensbury Park, Bournemouth.

Political parties, which?

IN the current issue of Peace News, Mr. Michael Bailey pours scorn upon the picture of pacifists "marching off with banners flying to found the New Jerusalem." He forgets that the twelve apostles set them an example, nineteen centuries ago.

Mr. Bailey wishes pacifists to remain within the Labour Party. But why? In 1945, the Labour Party assented to the slaughter of the children of Hiroshima by the atom bomb. Between 1945 and 1950, it gave us five wars—of course, the other fellow being always in the wrong. At the Annual Conference in 1955, by huge majorities, the Party confirmed its faith in conscription, also in the manufacture and use of atom and hydrogen bombs. Every member of the Labour Party is required to declare his support for the Party policy, but in my opinion no person can honestly accept the declared policy of the Party and be a pacifist at the same time.

It is not for me to say whether pacifist Labour MPs should "give up their seats with all its attendant advantages." Each MP must act according to his conscience, but it seems permissible to recall that Mr. Hudson stated that he had to strain his conscience to conform to Party directions, and that Mr. Attlee made it clear that "the small voice of conscience" must not be intruded into Labour Party politics.

If pacifism is to succeed in its immediate objective, the abolition of the horrors of war, it must enter the political field. But as both the Tory and Labour parties are militaristic, pacifism must look elsewhere for expression. Mr. Bailey dwells on financial difficulties and the poor prospects of success of the new party. Never once does he refer to the moral aspect, which is everything to the pacifist. The moral downfall of the Labour Party is the tragedy of our time.

Pacifism, says Mr. Bailey, is a matter for

LONDON AREA PEACE PLEDGE UNION
sends Christmas greetings to all PEACE NEWS readers, and asks London members to make it a happy New Year by supporting Area Activities.

A Memorable Debate on The Crisis of our Time IS THERE ANOTHER WAY?

Eminent Americans, including Dr. Niebuhr, Norman Thomas, George F. Kennan, discuss the American Friends' peace policy document **SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER**, of which a synopsis and a reply by the authors is included.

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Greetings from the British Section
to Peace Workers everywhere.

29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1

LETTERS

the individual, and he implies that pacifism has no place in party politics. Here he falls into the major heresy of the dual morality, one for private life and another for public life: the heresy that has played the devil with Christian civilisation for the last 500 years, the attempt to serve God and man.

St. Michael's, F. O'HANLON.
Hayling Rise, Worthing.

Trade Union influence

MICHAEL BAILEY seems perturbed over the formation of a political party which bases its politics on the foundation stone of Pacifism. Of course, if he is a Labour Party man that can be easily understood.

At the last election Labour lost a million and a half votes—mine was one of them. The Labour Party wants to recapture those lost votes. But not even the most optimistic pacifist would dream that the return of a Labour Government would bring in an era of pacifism.

Before the last war Labour said: "No peace-time conscription." In office after the war it made it permanent. Even after the war Labour said "No rearming Germany"; it then supported German Rearmament in spite of the vast majority of local Labour Parties' bitter opposition to it. Yes, the block vote did the trick all right.

I am a member of one of the big Unions, but our Union leaders do not ask us how we want them to vote on any issue. They have control of our money, and a far bigger say in the Labour Party than is good for the Party, themselves, or the nation.

In 1950 Labour in office spent £800,000,000 on arms, then they increased it to £1,500,000,000 per annum in order to be able to "talk from strength." It is true they say that H-bomb tests should be stopped, but they don't want to stop the manufacture of the bomb in Britain. How could they? When in power they were responsible for the making of British atom bombs, without any mandate to do so.

I believe that the only way to get a pacifist

Britain is to put up pacifist candidates at election times, and to create a pacifist Party as the Fellowship Party is doing.

A. G. OLIVEAND.
121 Warwick Rd., Carlisle.

"London's Burning"

IN Peace News of November 25 I notice the announcement under "London's Burning" in the Commentary "Behind the News" that mass Civil Defence exercises are to be held in London and the South of England next May. I hope the pacifist movement will regard this as a challenge, and respond by holding a mass demonstration to show the futility of so-called Civil Defence.

It has occurred to me before that the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union might conclude with some active peace work such as a poster parade through Central London.

Is it too much to hope that a Special General Meeting might be held to coincide with the CD exercise so that our position might be made plain to the public and to those in our ranks who are uneasy in feeling that they should prepare to be "Good Samaritans."

LEONARD A. BIRD.

49-51 George St., Hull.

Asked by Peace News to comment on this suggestion, the General Secretary of the PPU, Stuart Morris, writes:

"Both National Council and Executive have from time to time considered arranging a poster parade at the conclusion of the AGM. So far the suggestion has not found approval, partly on the ground that the time available for the AGM is fully occupied and many delegates from the provinces would not be able to stay later after the final session. Partly also because the late afternoon on Sunday in London is not considered an appropriate time for a poster parade. However, the matter might well be rediscussed in the light of the special circumstances."

"At its recent meeting, the Campaign Committee asked Sybil Morrison to obtain as full particulars as possible about the proposed Civil Defence exercises, with a view to a further discussion by the Committee on the most effective way of challenging Government plans."

Thanks to the sheep

IT is my custom, towards the close of the year, to ask myself the old but ever vital question—"Stands England where she did?"

As the last survivor of the Charge of Balaclava—or was it Omdurman? My memory isn't what it was. No matter. I know I charged.

The point is that 100 years ago this Christmas the siege of Sebastopol was still raging and the Crimean War was drawing to what both sides and five languages were calling a victorious close.

The subject was brought forcibly to my mind the other day when someone showed me a Crimean medal struck in 1855.

Now there has been considerable misconception about that admirable war. It has not been properly appreciated. Historians have called it "a vain campaign," but as usual the historians have missed the point.

It's true nobody won. But that's nothing against it. Rather that's in its favour. For sooner or later all wars achieve the exact opposite result to that for which they were fought, so it would be much cheaper if all wars were stopped halfway through, like the Crimean war, and thus achieved the same result at half price.

What is not true is to say nobody got anything out of it. We did. We got the Charge of the Light Brigade. And as it's 100 to 8 you don't realise the real importance of that incident, I will proceed to tell you.

★
WHEN Tennyson wrote those immortal word—"Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die . . . Someone had blundered"—I doubt if even he realised their full import. Indeed, if I know Alfred, I bet he didn't.

To emphasise the historic significance of those three short sentences, let me quote from another reliable authority, to wit, my encyclopaedia:—

"Although originating in a blunder, it (the Charge) furnished an imperishable tradition of obedience to orders."

Imperishable? That is what I wish to know. For this is the vital question on which our destiny depends: Can Englishmen still be counted on to go and get killed anywhere at any time any blundering nitwits in authority tell them to, without asking why?

If they can, England stands where she did, where else and we'd better organise a search party.

★
AT first glance there are disturbing factors. In recent years I have observed with alarm the emergence of a new type of citizen in our midst: The Man Who Asks Why.

Casting my eye, recently, over a subversive rag called Peace News, I noticed prominently displayed on the front page the names and temporary addresses of a number of condemned criminals.

Reading further to ascertain for what crime these enemies of society had been put out of harm's way (for I am not averse to a spot of horror in my lighter literary relaxation), I found that in every case the offence was the same.

Namely: that on being ordered by their respective governments to stop whatever they were doing and spend two years learning how to kill any foreigners whose extermination their government may at any time find advantageous for reasons unspecified, THESE MEN HAD ASKED WHY.

And, not receiving what they regarded as a satisfactory answer, they had refused to go.

★
AT this point it would be understandable if my readers lay down this article with a sigh and asked, "Is this the end?"

"Is our glorious tradition of unquestioning obedience to blunderers' orders, hitherto regarded as imperishable, showing signs of wear and tear?"

But calm your spirits. I have given only one side of the picture. Observe now the other side:

What does it matter if a few obstinate young men here and there are exercising their independent reasoning faculties, while the rest of their fellow-citizens are abandoning all claims to independence and reason with the most widespread gesture of repudiation known in our history?

At Balaclava there were only 600 men who wouldn't reason why. Today in England there are millions. And their authorities are still blundering.

★
AND never was obedience so sublime. The Government says, "Stop learning how to earn a living, and spend the next two years learning how to kill Russians." And the millions reply, "Yes, sir."

Then the Government says, "And meanwhile go to Cyprus and stop them trying to govern their own country." And the millions reply, "Yes, sir. Certainly sir."

And off they go—rich, poor, brilliant, stupid, artist, craftsman, tradesman, student, dunce, university graduate and gangster, in one vast, mentally identical herd. And, except now and then when the grub's bad, never a bleat.

And speaking as a Colonel of Hussars (reid.) who fought at the Khyber Pass (I think it was), I can only say, "What a beautiful sight!"

★
A FELLOW named Huxley once said that it's not the ape and tiger in man that makes him dangerous, it's the sheep.

I don't know what regiment this Huxley commanded, but he knew the secret of military efficiency and imperial greatness. So—stands England where she did? Thanks to the sheep, yes.

But by Gad, sir—I never knew before how many sheep we had. Nor how woolly.

Comment

MR. ATTLEE'S RESIGNATION

From RONALD KEATING

Former Chairman, Labour League of Youth

Whatever amiable personal qualities may attach to Mr. Attlee (and they are considerable) his place in the history of the Labour Movement will inevitably be that of the man under whose leadership the Party most strikingly abandoned the ideals upon which it was founded.

It was under the leadership of Mr. Attlee that the Labour Party applied conscription to the youth of the country in peacetime for the first time in history.

It was Mr. Attlee who was responsible for introducing the new colossal scale of armaments expenditure in this country, and it was his Government that first committed this country to the manufacture of the atom bomb.

His resignation from the Leadership has been heralded by some sections of the Press and also by some sections of the Labour Party as an opportunity to revitalise the Party. This follows the campaign to attribute the diminishing fortunes of the Party to the age of its leading members and the failing powers that accompany old age. If only the old guard could be replaced by younger men, it is argued, these would bring vitality to the Movement which would then shake off the demoralising apathy that was so evident at the General Election.

At the time of writing it seems to be evident that Mr. Gaitskell will succeed to the leadership. It is a peculiar commentary on the state of democracy in the Labour Movement that of the three candidates for the leadership, two of them—Messrs. Gaitskell and Morrison—were rejected by the Constituency Parties at the last Labour Party Conference.

There is no reason to assume that the substitution of youth for age will make any difference to the future fate of the Party. It is the policy that needs revising.

So long as the Labour Party remains wedded to H-bomb diplomacy and the inevitable stultification of its thinking in social policy that must accompany its present militaristic outlook, it is doomed to play a decreasing role in political leadership and there will be an increasing cynicism and despondency among its members.

Possibly the shake-up brought about by the scuffle over the succession will provide the signal for new and bolder thinking among the rank and file.

PART OF THE WASTE

The War Office employs 7,000 soldiers and civilians.

Nearly £3 million is the price Britain pays for a "Home Guard" consisting of 1,112 male and 45 female officers, 25,016 male and 1,266 female other ranks.

Pay and allowances for the Armed Forces for the fiscal year 1955-6 are estimated at £272 million.

Next-of-kin of soldiers killed during peacetime service overseas pay for the bringing home of bodies.

Cypriots become liable for conscription into the British Army after two years residence in this country.

Among the displaced persons employed by the British military authorities in Western Germany are 34,857 German men and 21,357 German women.

About £100,000 a year is used from public funds towards the maintenance of the Sea Cadet Corps.

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Talking of books...

A moral for
Fleet Street

By Robert Greacen

To the Chapel Perilous, by Naomi Mitchison. Allen and Unwin, 12s. 6d.

A Spastic Wins Through, by K. R. A. Hart. Bannisdale Press, 6s. 6d.

Design for Happiness, by John O'Connell. C. W. Daniel, 12s. 6d.

PERSONALLY, I have never been enamoured of the historical novel. That may, of course, be due to some defect of the imagination. If I want to brush up my history I prefer to turn to an historian who knows his subject and writes about it interestingly, even when he is obviously prejudiced. Today we have a number of good writers of this kind such as A. L. Rowse, C. V. Wedgwood and A. J. P. Taylor.

Mrs. Mitchison is one of these rare exceptions whose historical fiction has often combined the qualities of the good historian and the practised novelist. Her new novel, TO THE CHAPEL PERILOUS, takes for its theme the story of King Arthur and the Round Table, a legend which has inspired writers as diverse in time and style as Malory, Tennyson and J. C. Powys.

Here the events of the Grail story are seen through the adventures of two journalists working for the "Camelot Chronicle" and the "Northern Pict." Conveniently enough, these reporters, male and female respectively, provide a love story.

But Mrs. Mitchison is no writer of mere dream-fantasy: the real world is always at her elbow. She has her moral to point—namely, the doctoring of factual truth in the interests of powerful groups. Mrs. Mitchison knows her Fleet Street and the world of politics from the inside.

Mr. Hart, a "spastic" so severely handicapped that he could not even stand up until he was over seven years old, tells the very interesting story of his life.

That he has won through cannot be doubted, for he has held a job on the staff of The Times for the last twenty-seven years.

A book that will bring a message of hope to all who are physically handicapped, as well as to their friends and relatives.

We all want to be happy—or do we? Considering the truly irrational way in which many of us live—and I include the highly educated, too—a visitor from another planet might well conclude that man's greatest fear is happiness.

Mr. O'Connell advocates a philosophy of life which includes control over the mind, balanced diet and harmony with the laws of nature. He shows that we cannot expect to live in a world truly at peace while our design for living remains at best haphazard and at worst evil.

Arnold Rowntree and Elizabeth Cadbury

Arnold Rowntree, by Elfrida Vipont. Bannisdale, 12s. 6d.

Elizabeth Cadbury, by Richenda Scott. Harrap, 12s. 6d.

TWO eminent Quakers with much in common; cocoa connections, extensive hospitality, and the financial resources to meet it.

Arnold Rowntree was a man of great humanity and wide interests. In the three chief interests of his life, Rowntree and Co. Ltd., education, and the Press, his dominant characteristics were his sense of humour and his intimate concern for the welfare of every individual he met. He was a lifelong pacifist and during his years as Liberal MP for York (1910-1918) he continued to oppose war and conscription and did not hesitate to vote against his own government when necessary. At the outbreak of war in 1914 he offered to resign his seat, but was persuaded by his constituents not to do so.

The true purpose of education for young and old is an understanding and enjoyment of life; an uneducated man is not he who cannot read, or write, or spell, or count, but he who walks unseeing, unhearing, unaccompanied and unhappy through the busy streets and glorious open spaces of life's infinite pilgrimage. This expresses his attitude to Quaker schools and adult education schemes with which he was associated all his life.

The fact so finely shown by Elfrida Vipont in this biography is the great love of his fellowmen which dominated his entire life.

Elizabeth Cadbury, like Arnold Rowntree, had a lifelong concern for the less fortunate of her fellows: a concern which led her during her youth in London, and for the major part of her life's work in Birmingham, to initiate or support every effort for improving standards of living in the fullest sense of that phrase.

After her marriage to George Cadbury of Cadbury Brothers Ltd., she helped him in all his work for the welfare of his employees and his development of Bournville, that pioneer of garden cities. She had little understanding of the absolute pacifists of the first World War although she upheld the Quaker peace testimony throughout her life. In her later years when family responsibilities were lighter her work covered all aspects of social life.

It is a pity that Richenda Scott fails to show us the personality of Elizabeth Cadbury behind

The Christmas Truce in
No Man's Land

THE time—Christmas Eve, 1914. The place—a sector of the British front line on the Belgian-French border. To a platoon of the London Highlanders had been entrusted the dangerous task of erecting a new wire fence by moonlight.

As the soldiers begin hammering the support-posts into the frozen mud of No Man's Land, their nerves are alert for the rattle of German machine-guns. But not a shot is fired, and presently a light is seen over the German lines.

It was a strange sort of light. It burned almost white and was absolutely steady... Then they saw dim figures on the German parapet about more lights; and with amazement Philip saw that it was a Christmas tree being set there.

Instead of bullets come laughter and cheers, and a song remembered from childhood: "Stille Nacht! Heilige Nacht!—Tranquil Night! Holy Night!"

So began the truce which lasted until New Year's Eve on many miles of battlefield. During that spontaneous fraternisation football matches were held instead of machine-gun duels; Lancashire lads and Saxon boys exchanged addresses and promised to write to each other after the war; and the baffling discovery that the Germans, like the British, were fighting for God and civilisation began to trouble Phillip Maddison, teen-age veteran of the first Ypres, protagonist of Henry Williamson's new novel, "A Fox Under My Cloak!"

"It was a strange sort of light. It burned almost white and was absolutely steady." That describes exactly the light which burns throughout this book. By it we see the First World War—all war, the entire human struggle—through the eye of a poet, which pities and never condemns.



Not that the note of scorn is priggishly eliminated—we hear it from the hard-bitten Captain West protesting, between swigs of whiskey, that "the only real war is between the infantry and the staff, who sit on their bottoms issuing reams and reams of bumf...". We hear it from Phillip himself when, just back from the front, he bursts out against louts who are shying bags of red powder at women addressing a Stop-the-war meeting in Trafalgar Square.

He saw the little girl on the plinth crying, her dress spoiled by red powder. Another bag hit her in the face. "Stop it, you cads," he shouted, "or I'll have you all arrested."

But from the author himself we never hear that note of scorn. We feel that he is trying to understand everyone, from the louts in the Square to General Sir Douglas Haig in a French chateau, giving the fateful order for the Loos gas attack to begin, despite the absence of a decisive wind blowing towards the German lines.

While time passed slowly as the wind, he began to fear that the gas would hang about the British trenches. He bore himself up under the grave responsibility with the aid of prayer for guidance, a man seeking clarity within his own soul.

We feel that, in writing his saga, Mr. Williamson, too, is seeking clarity within his own soul—and that, by the act of seeking it, he is finding it, both for himself and for us.



Phillip—though he turns from the war in horror, convinced that it is meaningless because both sides are fighting for the same things—is no pacifist martyr, nor a patriotic one, but a bewildered and very frightened young man, in search of himself; emboldened into gallantry only when he finds others, most amazingly, relying on him. In his contradictions he is more akin to ourselves than to the heroes of fiction.

Essentially he's a tragi-comic figure, whose

*Macdonald, 15s.

But Sir George
wants a wood fire

The Foreseeable Future, by Sir George Thomson, FRSc. Cambridge University Press, 10s. 6d.

ONE element in scientific method is to use laws or hypotheses to forecast what is likely to happen under new circumstances. Such prediction is always made with caution and the dangers of extrapolation over too wide a range are appreciated by even the youngest of scientists.

In reading this attractive book one cannot restrain the thought that 100 years ahead is not the foreseeable future, and that in scanning the new century "one will certainly miss a great deal," as the author readily admits.

Who before 1905, when Einstein published his theory of relativity, or even less than twenty years ago before nuclear fission was discovered, would have foreseen the uses of nuclear energy today?

Yet we must admit that prediction about some other features of our society might well have been very near the mark.

Starting from known scientific principles, including the "principles of impotence" (certain things cannot be done), Sir George Thomson considers what further technical advances are likely over the next century and how they may affect people's lives.

He ranges widely over energy and power, materials, transport and communications, food, genetics and even the processes of thought.

Inevitably, in such a small volume, the treatment is sketchy and in places unsatisfying.

By

Dr JAMES TOPPING

Chairman Quaker Scientists' Fellowship

but it is lucid and readable and should prove interesting to the non-specialist.

Even if the speculations about the future are uncertain, the comments on recent developments in science and technology are authoritative and stimulating.

Today the world consumption of energy per head of the population is increasing and by the year 2050 the power needs of the world may be 30 times what they are now.

The supplies of oil at present levels of consumption can only last a few years, but the available coal should last for some centuries.

Nuclear reactors are likely to be used increasingly as sources of power, and should prove adequate especially if, as seems likely, the nuclear reactions which produce the energy of the hydrogen bomb are controlled for peaceful uses.

Energy so derived will be used electrically, but the world will not go "all-electric"; oil will still be used in cars and obtained from coal or synthetically, whilst domestic heating will, Sir George hopes, "continue to use the oldest method, the wood fire!"

Nuclear power plants and other modern techniques are dependent on special materials; can man fashion the new materials he will require? Can new methods of producing metals be developed?

Will space-travel come fairly soon?

Can climate be controlled and the deserts of the world reclaimed? Can enough food be produced to feed the increasing population?

What are the social consequences likely to be?

These and many other questions are discussed, and the answers are sometimes surprising:

"One of the advantages of being able to make food in factories is that it will release large areas of the world as playgrounds where men can follow for a time the traditional life of the hunter and fisher and regain touch with reality."

Elsewhere in the book the author keeps closer to reality. Aware, like all of us, of the dangers inherent in the use of nuclear weapons, he can only write of the future on the assumption that the world remains relatively peaceful. To ensure that is the major task for scientists and non-scientists alike. Perhaps it is well that we should be told of the way man could travel if he would so order his affairs that science could be used for human welfare.

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CHINA AND UN

By Peter Bailey

A FEW days ago, sitting on a Brains Trust of a non-political nature, the writer was asked "What nationality would you take if you were not British?"

The reply, "Chinese," was not in anticipation of this article but rather from an inborn respect for her culture and philosophy that has remained constant throughout changing centuries.

Since the Chinese revolution on October 10, 1911 that country has been in unhappy turmoil. Then Sun Yet-sen, leader of the Kuomintang, led the democratic movement in the South, while Yuan Shi-kai, a northern conservative, became the first President of China. Later, after the Kuomintang had been reorganised, assisted by Soviet advisors, Chiang Kai-shek appeared and, purging the Kuomintang of Communists, set up a National Government in Nanking. Communist uprising in the South caused further violence driving them on "the long march" five thousand miles to the West to establish new Communist provinces in Shensi and later in the North.

By 1931, a modern Japan had set out to conquer China, a prospect which alarmed the world, for Chinese philosophy coupled with Japanese cunning spelt disaster to the West. In July 1937 the Marco Polo Bridge clash started the full-scale war, and Chiang Kai-shek moved West to Chungking.

There he remained, supported by supplies from Russia, Britain and the United States, who became full allies when Japan attacked the United States and Britain in 1941.

But it was not until 1941 and because of Japan's Anglo-Saxon aggression that China declared war formally on Japan. Chiang and the Communists enjoyed common plans and purposes but proved uneasy bed-fellows and were divorced with indecent haste in 1945.

MUTUAL DISTRUST

Later events are better known but these earlier days display the interest of Communism in China and the mutual distrust, amounting to hate, between the Soviets and Chiang which form an essential basis for any modern thoughts.

In June 1952 both Mr. Herbert Morrison and Sir Anthony Eden were in common accord that the Central Peoples Government of China should represent China at the United Nations but stated that she was not carrying out the principles or spirit of the United Nations Charter. This statement was endorsed by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd as Minister of State in May, 1953.

At that time the Korean conflict was unanswered but Mr. Lloyd assured the House that when peace was established "that was one of the matters that would have to be discussed."

The 1955 Conservative Election Policy called for a guarantee against the use of force in the Formosa Straits and the withdrawal of the Chinese Nationalist Forces from the coastal islands.

At Geneva on August 1 this year the begin-

More copies of this Christmas Peace News are available

We have printed 13,000 copies of this Christmas Number—the largest Peace News to be published since 1939.

Use the coupon below to order extra copies to send to your friends. Post copies to people in your neighbourhood likely to be interested in the issues dealt with in this number. Remind as many people as you can that the Christmas-tide profession of "Peace and goodwill" means something more than sentiment.

● London readers are invited to join in selling in Trafalgar Square next week. On Wednesday evening the choir of the Quaker school at Saffron Walden will be singing in the Square at 6.45 p.m. Supplies of Peace News will be available on the steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church from 6.30 p.m. For Christmas Eve plans see the Editor's Notebook, page 5.

And don't forget Peace News as a Christmas Gift. For 5s. only (half the usual rate) a six months' supply of Peace News will be posted to new readers anywhere. A Greeting Card announcing your gift will accompany a copy of this issue of Peace News. Friends overseas will appreciate receiving a copy of the Air Express Edition. Special gift rate for this is 10s. including air mail postage.

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FORMER CHAIRMAN OF YOUNG CONSERVATIVES

PETER BAILEY, born 1923, married, has three children. Served in RAF during war as Air-Gunner. Wounded in action over Germany 1944, losing part of right hand and right eye. Joined Conservative Party 1945. Has been Parliamentary Candidate in three constituencies. Was Chairman of Young Conservatives 1953-4.

Travelled widely in Western Europe and given in Britain and abroad over three thousand lectures and speeches since the war. Is a free-lance journalist writing for British and Overseas Press. Member of British Institute of Management, Institute of Journalists and Royal Photographic Society. Member of a Ministry of Labour Disablement Advisory Committee, and an official member of a Visiting Committee to an Open Prison.

Special interests include industrial sociology, foreign affairs and penal reform.

He writes this article as an individual giving a personal view at the request of Peace News.

ning of private talks on Chinese representation were accompanied by the timely release of the eleven American airmen who, captured in 1953, remained lost to the world until "convicted of espionage" eighteen months later. This act of "good intention" was too well-timed to increase the respect for China within the United Nations who had not forgotten Chinese participation in the Korean war, nor the request, in a General Assembly vote of 47-5, that the Secretary General investigate their case and that of "all other captured personnel of the United Nations Command."

TEMPERATE ACTION

The easy tendency to regard the United States as pro-Chiang and anti-People's Government should not be taken too literally, for President Eisenhower, nearly three years ago, reduced tension by creating a defence wall between the Chinese Mainland and Formosa, which was designed to prevent either side from advancing.

This was a temperate action for America; the Korean War caused severe casualties amongst American families far exceeding that of other nations in the UN Command.

Behind China lies the power of Moscow, a belief not disproved by the antics of Soviet leaders at the present time.

Ironically the Chinese Nationalist Ambassador at UN has added insult to injury with his recent speech to veto the Canadian "package deal" proposal of admitting eighteen new nations to UNO.

Anger exists, both sides are tensed for the next move and it would be folly to release one end of this powerful elastic only to find the recoil causing further disturbance.

Mr. MacMillan's statement in the House on the same day as the Nationalist outburst in New York that he "did not think the moment had yet arrived" carried with it the need for the Republic and Chiang to both ease the tension and step by step demonstrate peaceful constructive intentions.

Statesmen alone cannot achieve these things, it calls for humble man to play his part. He must work, not with slogans and speeches, but develop common understanding, cultural pursuits and bring together the younger peoples of the world that they in their turn may plead for developing the creative needs of the world.

It is the development of agreement, not disagreement, that will ensure peace and enable the armies of force to turn their energies to improving life.

Such days can be reached only when tolerance and trust provide an understanding of human dignity and purpose.

YOUTH AGAINST THE CALL-UP

MEMBERS of the Pacifist Youth Action Group, the Labour League of Youth, and the Movement for Colonial Freedom have joined together to form the Joint Youth Committee against Conscription, which will act whenever there is a suitable opportunity to put the case against conscription before young people.

Their first joint action will be at the end of this month when more than 2,000 of Britain's civic-minded 16-20 year olds meet in conference at the Central Hall Westminster.

Although supported by the No Conscription Council the Committee needs money, and helpers on December 28, 29, 30, to sell literature and steward meetings outside the Central Hall between 9.15 a.m. and 10 a.m. and from 12.15 p.m. till 2 p.m.

Everyone interested in helping should contact Phoebe Merrick, at 5 Horbury Crescent, London, W.11. There will be a meeting at that address (near Notting Hill Gate) at 7.30 p.m. on Sunday, December 18.

AFRICA DIGEST BANNED

THE Africa Bureau have announced that the South African government has banned Lord Hemingford informed The Times that he could understand that the South African Government disapproved of the Africa Bureau, for one thing because the Bureau had opened a fund in aid of those who were suffering educationally from the Bantu Education Act. But he did not understand why the Government should object to the "Digest" which consisted mainly of extracts from the Press, quoting opinions of every type, including those of Mr. Strydom.

Director of the Africa Bureau is Michael Scott.

LIMITED LIABILITY

I do not believe we will ever abolish war because we are afraid of the consequences.
—Dick Sheppard, WE SAY "No."

IT is twenty years since Dick Sheppard's WE SAY "No" was published, but it is still contemporary in that the problems and anxieties then about peace and war, are the same problems and the same anxieties today; and the straight, simple answers that he gave are still the right answers, and the only ones.

In the chapter from which I have taken my quotation there is a passage from one of the late Mr. J. L. Garvin's articles written for The Observer in 1925.

"The idea of limited war," wrote Mr. Garvin, "is the most pathetic of human illusions. If you have it at all you must have it at its worst, and cannot have it otherwise... unless we abolish war itself, by no means on earth can we lessen its instruments or mitigate its horrors. Its means necessarily include every device which can inflict slaughter, mutilation, torture and destruction."

This was true when it was written; it is true today; it has always been true about war. But it is not so much war that statesmen dread, it is defeat, and if men are to be conscripted to fight wars, then it would not only be futile, but quite unfair, to equip them less efficiently than the enemy with whom they must do battle. This, plainly, is a logical conclusion for anyone who accepts the war method.

JOSS ON THE PEACE-PATH



"I'm Intelligence Corps—the psychiatrist prescribed them for my inferiority complex."

Pacifists may contest Mr. Attlee's seat

From a Correspondent

Mr. Attlee's seat at Walthamstow West may be contested, in the forthcoming by-election, by the new pacifist political party, the Fellowship Party.

The Fellowship Party are waiting to know whether the other candidates at Walthamstow West are opposed to the manufacture of the H-bomb, and also to see the outcome of the New Year's Honours List. If Mr. Herbert Morrison goes to the House of Lords, then the Fellowship Party will contest his seat at South Lewisham and not Walthamstow West.

South Lewisham was contested at the General Election—and would be again—by John Loveday, AFC, Chairman of the Fellowship Party.

The Fellowship Party has asked Ronald Mallone, BA, to be their candidate for Walthamstow West.

The seat will be contested on the interim policy of the Fellowship Party, and will include: total disarmament; self-determination of all peoples under British rule; the use of the world's raw materials for the benefit of all; the extension of the health services; recognition of transport as a service to be financed if necessary by the Exchequer; increased production of British food; common ownership of the means of production and distribution; and greatly improved education to enable full peaceful development of pupils' personality and ability.

Offers of help for canvassing, envelope addressing, and speaking should be sent to the General Secretary, Eric Fenner, 14 Parkgate Rd., S.W.11.

LATE NEWS

C.O in "Glasshouse"

BRYAN AMES, one of the COs listed in Peace News on December 2 as likely to spend Christmas in prison, told London Appellate Tribunal last Monday he had been confined in an unheated cell with no clothes except a canvas jacket, and put on bread and water at the notorious Colchester "glasshouse."

If Tribunal recommends the Army to discharge him, Bryan will spend Christmas at home. Meanwhile he is now at Shepton Mallet Military Prison.

JOHN NOON MOVED

JOHN NOON, whose name appears in the list of COs in prison during Christmas, has been moved from H.M. Prison, Oxford to H.M. Prison, Grendon Hall, Aylesbury.

It is for this reason that it could not be expected that Russia would willingly occupy a weaker position in the H-bomb race than its enemies, and just as a new rifle, tank, gun or submarine must be tested before men are asked to use it in their own defence, so must the H-bomb be tested.

That is the argument of the Government concerned. The Russian H-bomb was not tested for fun, any more than the United States' experiments in nuclear weapons have been undertaken for entertainment. These weapons are the means by which a future war will be fought, and the outcry against the tests is perhaps the most unrealistic of all the "pathetic human illusions" which from time to time have caused people to attempt to limit the liabilities of war.

On humanitarian grounds it would certainly seem reasonable to ask that Governments should avoid the possible dangers to life that the tests may produce, but to demand it as a gesture related in any way to the peace of the world is totally unrealistic for it has nothing at all to do with peace, and is not even anti-war.

It is true, as Dick Sheppard said twenty years ago, that war will not be abolished through any fear of its consequences, and if people believe, as they do, that the H-bomb is an important factor in achieving victory in either a "hot" or a "cold" war, the consequences of testing it are considered of very minor importance.

If there was no war preparation there would be no tests, and if, as was suggested in "Behind the News" last week, the British Government should be asked to forego their own H-bomb tests, that would seem to the majority to be tantamount to asking the British Government to engage in a fight with one hand tied.

As Dick Sheppard says, with prophetic understanding of a nuclear weapon future he did not live to see, "We have to face the fact that, so long as we accept war as a possibility, and prepare for it, there is no weapon we can rule out."

It is this refusal to face facts that so often brings confusion into these issues. It is only when it is recognised that war, with all that it means in violence and carnage, in cruelty and immorality, is a sin against God and humanity, that men will call a halt.

Tests or no tests, the H-bomb is as much a part of war's equipment as the rifle and the torpedo; if we want to say No to the tests, we must say No to war.

Report from Korea

DR. INGLE WRIGHT, who had just returned from two years' work with a Quaker team in Korea was impressed, she told a Bristol Peace Council Conference recently, by the kindness and cheerfulness of the Korean people in the midst of great hardship. She felt, however, the great difficulties of relief work arising from the complete lack of any sense of social responsibility. Tightly bound by family ties which imposed absolute obligation, those without families, orphans and other defenceless people were left entirely to their own resources. In hospitals, friendly patients would be left entirely without help whilst whole families would descend on their sick relatives to bring them care and comfort. There was neither the public conscience nor the administrative ability to make effective use of the relief supplied by outside resources. Rather there was the feeling, shared by most relief workers, that the South Korean Government expected to receive continuous help from outside and that therefore there was little urgency in the development of their own economy.

GREAT HARDSHIP

The situation in Korea was still very serious and it was tragic that whilst the West was deeply concerned in the problem of a divided Germany, little recognition was given to the division of Korea, the two parts of which were equally vital to Korean prospects. It was a fact that public interest in Korea was fading, and that when outside sources of help dried up, there would be great hardship and want in Korea. The South Korean army, which was the fourth largest in the world, was almost wholly supported from America. When that support was withdrawn the civilian economy could not stand the burden which would be thrown upon it.

Meanwhile there appeared little effective opposition to the present government. Political responsibility was not firmly established in Korea, as evidenced by the existence at one time of 200 political parties. There was little sense of antagonism towards the North Korean people, from whom they were separated by an artificial boundary, nor was there any bitterness towards Japan.

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